

A PLAIN
RELATION

Of the Late

Action at Sea, ⁷

Between the

ENGLISH & DUTCH, and the FRENCH

FLEETS,

From June 22. to July 5. last :

WITH

Reflections

THEREUPON,

And upon the

Present State of the Nation.

TOGETHER WITH

A Preparation for Death, and a Persuasive to Criminals to do
Right to their Countrey ; and a Specimen of a BILL for
Reformation of Manners, drawn for the Bishops, and men-
tioned in the following Reflections.

L O N D O N,

Printed for John Harris at the Harrow in the
Poultry. MDCXC.

By whom also is Sold A Compleat Collection of the late Writings of the same Author,
as, The true English Government, &c. Reflections upon the last Years Occurrences, &c.
An Apology for Mr. Stafford, &c. and others for the Service of the Publick.





TO THE
READER.

READER,

WHoever thou art, if thou knowest it not already, know, that the Author of these Papers is a sincere Friend and hearty Well-wisher to King *William* and Queen *Mary*, the present Settlement, these Nations, and the Common Cause of the Confederates, as very Just and Honourable ; and no Enemy to the late King *James*, the late Admiral *Torrington*, or to the Persons of any of those whom he believes or suspects to have had an Influence in the Production of our Disappointments ; but to their Miscarriages only, that they may be duely Corrected, Reformed, and the like Prevented for the future : That he hath Written nothing maliciously or falsely to his own Knowledge, but all with great Candour and Integrity for the Service

To the Reader.

of God, the Good of his Countrey, the Promotion of this Great and Righteous Common Cause; against a Proud Insolent Nimrod, and for thy own Good, if thou understandest it aright. Know therefore also, if thou canst be offended with him who Wishes so well to thy Countrey, and no ill to thy self, thou art no good Man; and so wishing thou mayst be better and wiser, he bids thee heartily Farewell.

Advertisement.

T Here is newly Published, The present State of Europe : Or, the Historical and Political Mercury : Giving an Account of all the publick and private Occurrences that are most considerable in every Court for the Month of September, 1690. with Reflections upon every State; to be continued Monthly from the Original publish'd at the Hague by the Authority of the States of Holland and West-Friezland..

The Mercury for the Month of August last is likewise done; they are both to be Sold by **John Harris** at the Harrow in the Poultry.

A Plain

A

Plain Relation

Of the Late

Action at Sea,

BETWEEN

The *English & Dutch*, and the *French*
FLEETS, from *June 22.* to *July 5.* last.

ON Sunday, June the 22. about Ten in the Morning, the French Fleet (which had been seen the Friday before off of Plimouth, and the Saturday off of Portland) were seen from the Isle of Wight off of Fresh-water-Bay; of which our Fleet then riding in S. Helens road had no Notice, 'till about Ten that Night from the shore: So that had not the Wind, which brought them with a very fresh Gale as far as Fresh-water-Bay, where they Anchored, then slack'd and turned Northerly, they had been in with us, and fir'd our Ships for want of Scouts out (as some say) to give Notice. But that night upon that Notice we staved our Cabins, made clear our Ships, and about 12. unmoor'd.

The next morning (Monday the 23^d.) the Admiral ball-
ed home his Fore-top=sail=sheets, and fired a Gun to Weigh, and
soon after all the Fleet were under sail, and we stood out to Sea,
and about 3 in the afternoon came to an Anchor, Dunnose, S.
W. & by W.

The next morning, (Tuesday the 24th.) between 5 and
6 we weighed, and stood to the S. E. and that Afternoon the
Lyon, and several Dutch Men of War, which made them a
Squadron of about 17. Ships, joined us S. E. of the Isle of
Wight. And at 9 at night we anchored, Culver Cliff, N.
W. and by W. about 7 Leagues.

Wednesday the 25th. at 6. in the morning we weighed,
the Wind N. N. E. and about 8. the Weather, which was thick
before, clearing up, we saw the French Fleet, the Body of them
bearing W. S. W. about 3 Leagues distant: And we had a fair
Opportunity to engage them, the Wind S. S. E. and they under
our Lee, between us and the English shore, in very much Disor-
der: And in all probability had we then Engaged them, we had
beaten them down upon our English shore; our Fleet be-
ing very well provided for it, our Ships all in good Order,
and our Men full of Courage and very desirous of Action.
At 12. Culver Cliff, N. W. half N. 4. Leagues off, the
Wind S. S. E. and between 7. and 8. we Anchor'd, Dun-
nose, N. W. and by N. 5. Leagues, the French Fleet
Leeward about 3. Leagues.

The next morning, (Thursday the 26th.) the Admiral
made a Signal, and call'd a Council of Flag-Officers; where
it was agreed not to fight the French, supposing them too strong
for us, but to ply to the East, (the Wind being E.) as far as
the

the Flats of the Foreland, and there intangle them in the Sands, rather than fight them; but yet to keep sight of them, least they should land; which notwithstanding we did not, but plyed out of sight, so that they might have landed if they would.

From that time he kept turning to the E. every Tide from day to day, (which the French observing, kept turning after) till Sunday Evening, the Wind continuing Easterly all that time, insomuch that the Seamen being greatly discontented at it, began to murmur and exclaim against him for it: But then a Signal was made for a Council of the Flagg-Officers, where it was resolved to Fight the French the next day, but no Notice thereof was given to any of the Fleet besides.

The next Morning being Munday the 30th. the Signal was given for a Line of Battle, when most of our Ships having no Notice before were unprepared; yet our Men threw up their Caps, and shewed all demonstrations of Joy at the Notice, and made ready as fast as they could; and, (the French probably supposing we had still kept turning to the E. as we did before, and therefore turning after) both Fleets came near about Eight that Morning in two Lines cross the Channell, our Fleet standing about 4 Leagues to the West of the Beachy-Head, the Dutch Squadron in the Van toward the English shore, the Red in the Body, the Blew in the Rear toward the French Coast; and the Bloody Flag being hoisted before, about 9. both Fleets came to Engage.

The Dutch (leading the Van) and part of the Blew (in the Rear) joining near them made them give way; but

the Red (except two or three Ships) not going so near as they should, (but standing aloof, which brought our Fleet into the form of a Half-moon,) the Body of the French Fleet having none to engage them, made up with the Dutch, and did them great Damage; whereas at the same time the Rear of the French ran from those of the Blew who fought them.

The Admiral, as I am inform'd by one of his Ship, fired many Guns; but as most agree, stood at that distance, that no Man can tell to what purpose it was, unless to waste Powder and Shot. There were others also of our Fleet, as it is affirmed, which lay to the Windward and fired over our own Ships, and did some of them no little Damage; insomuch that our Sea-men were very much exasperated at it.

The Engagement continued till about five of the Clock; but then the French bore away, and so put an end to the Action of that Day; and both Fleets Anchored that Night.

The next Morning both Fleets lay at Anchor, looking one upon the other, as if neither had any Inclination to fight. And it is believed that had not the English made the haste from them, which they did, they might very well have sent away the disabled Ships, and saved them; and the French would never have attack'd us.

In this Engagement the French had one of that Squadron, which fought the Blew, sunk, and the Quarter of another blown up, as is affirmed by many; besides what other loss they had, which is believed to have been considerable, especially from the Dutch Squadron, which is generally agreed

greed to have behaved themselves very bravely, tho' the particulars are not yet known to us : But 1500 Men kill'd and wounded they themselves confess, and Intelligence from France informs us that they had divers Vessels very much shattered. On our side there was not one Ship lost in the Fight, unless one of the Dutch, (concerning which there is some difference in Relations) only the Ann of the Blew, and about seven of the Dutch, which were afterward burnt, and possibly some others, were disabled.

But on Tuesday Morning, as some say, a Dutch Vice-Admiral being disabled, the Men finding themselves among the French, fired their Ship, and got off to the English shore, to the West of Shoram ; which others say was fired the Day or Night before. But the Ann, and the rest of the Dutch disabled Ships, were towed into our Fleet, out of danger for the present : But that Night the Admiral having ordered the Swallow and the York to tow the Ann, commanded all to turn to the Windward : whereupon one of the Dutch Ships being left by the Fleet, the Men were forced the next Day to burn the Ship, and get on shore as they could, somewhere about Shoram ; for the French observing the Motion of our Fleet, as they turned, turned after them.

On Thursday three more of the Dutch Ships being likewise left, were forced to do the like at or near Hastings :. and the Captain of the Ann (which, as some say, had been towed three Leagues to the E. of our Fleet, and was ordered to bear into our Fleet again) being also left, was forced to make a Waff and fire a Gun ; and the Admi-

ral

ral thereupon sending his *Yat*, the Captain sent him word, that unless he sent them more Assistance, they should be in danger to fall into the hands of the Enemy; whereunto the Admiral returned Answer, That they must take what course they could to save themselves, for he could not help them; and so kept on turning to Windward, which the Enemy still observing, as he turned, turned after him: so that upon Friday another of the Dutch Ships was forced to do as their Fellows had done, fire their Ship, and get on shore near *Hasting*. And upon the Saturday the *Ann* for want of Assistance was forced to do the like between *Hasting* and *Rye*.

Whereas had the Admiral and his Squadron fought as the rest did, we had undoubtedly obtain'd a considerable Victory over the French Fleet with less Loss than we have now sustained: However, he might easily have saved those Ships which were fired on Wednesday and afterward, had he but kept his station, and not by turning as he did, invited the French to the Honour of following, and the Pleasure of beholding the deserted Dutch day after day firing their own Ships, lest they should fall into their hands.

This Relation was first taken from the Information of an honest Volunter Seaman, who was in the Fleet all the time above mentioned, and in the Engagement; and afterward compleated from the Informations of divers others who were also in the Fight, and in the Fleet, all the time aforesaid. And for the Readers more full satisfaction I will here subjoin in *English*

A Copy of a Letter written to the (French) Court
from on Board Mr de Tourville.

Monsieur de Chateau Renault, who commanded the Rear-Guard composed of 21 Ships, had this day the Van-Guard; the Blew Squadron of 25 Ships was the Body of the Battel; and the Count d'Estree, whose Squadron was 23 Ships, had the Rear-Guard. As to the Enemies, the Admiral of the Red, commanding the Red Squadron, had the Body of the Battel composed of 22. Ships; the Hollanders to the number of 22. Ships, led the Van-Guard; and the Blew Squadron of 16 Ships, had the Rear-Guard. They immediately stretch'd out their Line. The Hollanders first charg'd our Van-Guard, and they had already discharg'd their Broad-sides, when the Sieur Herbert, call'd E. of Torrington, who commanded the Body of the Battel, came to attack ours. It was believ'd at that time that he would have sought out Mounf. de Tourville to fight with him, but instead of acting in that manner, and as became a brave Admiral, he stop'd at the last Ship of the White Squadron, and the Marquess d'Amfreville, who was the Rear-Admiral, had to do with the common Seamen, before with Herbert, who e'en withdrew himself in less than half an hour. Never was seen a fairer Vessel than that Red Admiral, and so ill commanded. And Mounf. Herbert lost this Expedition the little Reputation he had remaining before. He did not shoot but at a distance, and altho he had the Advantage of the Wind, yet he never approached within Cannon-shot. By this means our Division, which should have sustain'd the greatest Fire, lost not above 5 men on board the Magnificent, and some Shot in her Masts. The Hollanders attack'd our Van-guard very vigorously; but Herbert willing to sacrifice them, altho he saw them fight like brave men, and both Tiers of our Fleet slaughtering of them, never did his endeavour to succour them; but on the contrary, retired out of Cannon-shot. We have not lost in this Fight any Person of Note, except the Chevalier de Clermont: The Agreeable, the Fleuron, and the Moderate, are the Ships which have suffered the most: As to the kill'd and wounded, we have had about Fifteen hundred.

Eut à faire
aux Maret
lots, avan-
qu'a Her-
bert.

And

And now should we enter into a *Computation* of the particulars of our Loss, we might set them down under several Heads, such as these :

Imprimis. Lucrum cessans, The Loss of a great Advantage we had to have gotten a compleat Victory over the *French Fleet* : as is apparent by what was done by that part of our Fleet which fought, and not only withstood the force of their whole Fleet, but made them bear away.

Item. Damnum emergens, Loss actually sustain'd in several respects. As,

It. Of Men.

It. Of Ships.

It. Of Rigging, &c.

It. Of Honour.

It. Of Time and Expences in refitting.

It. Of Trade, while the *French* ride Masters at Sea.

It. Distraction of the Countrey from their Harvest to serve in the Militia, upon Occasion of the *French Fleet* lying upon our Coast, to the great Charge of the Countrey.

It. The Advantages gotten by our Enemies, which may be computed as a Loss to us ; such as these,

1. Of Honour.
2. Of Courage, they being animated by it.
3. Of Leisure and Opportunity.

It. Disappointment for some time of the entire reducing of *Ireland*, proceeding from the Enemies Apprehensions of our Disappointment at Sea, which occasions the greater Charge and longer Diversion of our Forces from other Service ; besides the hazard of what may happen in the mean time, or upon that occasion.

And *Lastly*, Much of this Loss is a Loss, not only to the King, and to this Nation, but to the *Common Interest* of the Confederates : So that the King and this State are obliged, not only in Honour and Prudence for themselves, but also in Justice to the Confederates, and especially to the *Dutch*, who behaved themselves so bravely, were so basely deserted, and thereby suffered so much, to enquire impartially into the Miscarriages, and punish them as they deserve.

REFLECTIONS

Upon the Precedent

Relation.

IN the Occurrences of the last Year, we had besides the Loss of our Expence only a-kind of *Luctum cessans*, a Disappointment in the Opportunities and Advantages we had to have promoted our own Settlement and the common Cause, to compute: And therefore, as it was the more easie, for any one, who thought fit to apply his mind to it, to invent some plausible Pretences to cover the Miscarriages, which were then committed in the Management of Affairs; so such Pretences then would the more easily pass, with such as were more concerned to keep fair with all Men for their own advantage, than to promote the Publick Interest of their Countrey and the common Cause, especially by any such Means as might possibly produce any Prejudice or Disadvantage to their own. But besides all this, in the late Action at Sea, when the Heavens had favoured us, first with a special Deliverance from a very dangerous Surprise, and then with as favourable Advantage as our Hearts could wish, and that continued for many dayes together, not only to neglect the same, to neglect it though provoked, by the Courage and by the Danger also of our

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Allies,

Allies, and of some of our own Ships besides ; but moreover to desert such as were disabled, and so desert as by turning against the Wind to invite and animate the Enemy, (who of themselves it seems had otherwise no mind to it, but rather expected a more vigorous Engagement of our whole Fleet) to follow and triumphantly seize or destroy them, is such a Miscarriage, and that aggravated with so great a Loss, Damage, and mischievous and dangerous Consequence, as requires a Person of rare Invention, of equal Impudence, and void of all sense of Honour and Love to his Countrey, to compose a Vindication of this Transaction, or so much as with Confidence and hope of Success endeavour to cover it ; and People of no less stupidity and easiness to be imposed upon by such Pretences. Indeed the *Miscarriage* was so gross and palpable, as moved the Indignation even of some of the Vindicators of the last Years Transactions to reflect with some warmth upon it, and extorted their Remarks upon the ill Consequences of such Miscarriages as were before palliated : Such in short as none will offer to excuse, who are not either Partners in the Crime, or no good Friends to the Cause ; or admit of any Excuse who are not either such, or such as are too apt and easie to be imposed upon by smooth Tongues and fallacious Pretences of others.

And as the Miscarriage is too gross to be covered, so is the *Loss, Damage, and evil Consequence* thereof too great to be buried in Oblivion. In point of *Honour* it ought to be enquired into strictly, to the bottom, and punished severely, for satisfaction to *the World* ; and in point of *Justice* no less, for satisfaction to all *our Confederates* in the same common Cause, which suffers much by the Disappointment ; but more especially *the Dutch*, who beside have sustained so considerable a Loss peculiar to themselves : And certainly no less ought to be done in point both of *Justice and Interest* for satisfaction at home, both to *the whole Nation* in general, not well pleased to see their
Trade

Trade thus at a stand, and their Money the while wasted upon a Company of debauched, impious, wicked Wretches, for two Years together, with so little effect ; and more particularly to the *Sea-men*, who think it hard, that they who are Free men, and willing to serve their Countrey under Officers whom they like, should be pressed and forced, as if they were Gally-slaves, to serve under such as they think neither otherwise well-qualified, nor very good Friends either to them, or to the Cause they engage in. To all which we must add another Point of *Prudence* to prevent the like for the future, by Cashiering at least such as are found guilty, or not well qualified for the Service, however they came by their Places ; and by good Examples of necessary Discipline to deter others from undertaking what they are not fit for, or from deserting or neglecting what they have once undertaken. And certainly that to which so many Obligations and considerable Motives concur, must needs be very necessary : and it would therefore be a great sign of a very weak and languishing State, to let so great and mischievous a Miscarriage be lightly passed over under the cover of such superficial Pretences as every Tarpaulin and common Sea-man can see through, without some proportionable Animadversion upon the Delinquents, and effectual Purgation and Reformation of the Fleet upon so notorious an occasion.

All this Mischief, I know, is commonly imputed to our Admiral *Torrington*. Not only the Letter printed in the *French Gazet* from the E. of *Nottingham*, to my Lord *Dursey* in *Holland* ; but a Relation printed in *France*, as I am inform'd, by that Kings Authority, lays it chiefly upon him. The Letter, amongst other Passages concerning the Fight, hath one to this effect : *The Holland Squadron behaved it self with so much Bravery, that if my Lord Torrington had done his Duty, we should in all probability have had a Compleat Victory ; but at present we retreat before the Enemy.*

my. Which is in few words the summe of what the Relation of the honest Seaman hath more particularly informed us, and no little Confirmation of it.

And indeed he being so notoriously faulty, it cannot be expected that vulgar Spectators should look any farther into the matter, but be well satisfied with the just Punishment of him alone : For whoever else might be concerned in it, they at Land being out of the Action, may be thought far enough out of Suspicion ; and they who at Sea were in the Action, (if it may be properly so said of them who stood still and acted not at all, unless in retreating from the Enemy,) they have a fair pretence of his Authority to cover their own Miscarriages. And yet possibly none of them may be so secure as they thought themselves : For his Honour is now so broken by this Miscarriage, and his case so desperate, that I know not what should or can oblige or restrain him, not to discharge himself of so much of the *Oaium*, as is properly due to those, who by any means either induced him to, or concurred with him in so base, dishonourable, and mischievous a Miscarriage ; or impose upon him either to suffer himself to be abused and *Colemanized* with vain hopes and expectations ; or tamely bear the burden of others no better than himself, who by unfaithful concurrence at least, were some occasion of his Unhappiness : and 'tis like, when he is once gone, will be as forward as any to cast dirt upon his Memory, to clear themselves of all suspicion. And if his Affliction, as sometimes it doth, should awaken in him any sense of Religion, Repentance, Justice, or love to his Countrey, all these do plainly oblige him to detect all : He can certainly make no such step toward a reparation to his King and Countrey, as by detecting those who have already been unfaithful, or are unfit for such a trust ; that being discharged, and otherwise punished as they deserve, they may be prevented from doing the like mischief for the future. And for them it is in truth,

truth (though this brutish, sensual Generation are not sensible of it) much better, that they should be judged here, accept of their Punishment, and bear their Iniquity, than be condemned hereafter.

But to return, that none should be culpable in this business but *Torrington*, doth not at all seem probable to me. He was indeed the Principal in the Miscarriage, because he had Authority sufficient to have prevented it, or at least to have done so much as must have left some others inexcutable: But it is not likely he would have behaved himself as he did, if he had not had some Encouragement, at least by a willing and easie compliance. And it's likely, if the truth were known, there were several *Accessaries*, not only at Sea, but at Land also. Such was the Behaviour of others at Sea, that the seamen generally blame the Officers, very few excepted. And when the Commissioners, who were sent to examine the matter, sat at *Sheerness*, it was *observed*, "That several of the Officers had prepared an Account of the Action in writing under their hands, calculated for the Interest of *Torrington*, and were very high and upish in the morning, and carried it toweringly, and jarring with some of the Blew Squadron; though when they came after to be examined upon their Oaths, (which it was guessed they did not expect,) and some of the Blew spake their Judgments freely, their Carriage was observed to be much altered, and they looked more calmly. And upon the whole matter, there were some *Observations* then made, which are very proper to be here inserted: *viz.*

1. *That a great part of the Commanders of this Fleet are absolute Creatures of Torrington: Otherwise, if they had been Men of Freedom and Principles, they would have been more forward to have made their Complaints against him. And if it be found a Fault in him, all those must be Fools or Knaves, that either did not See it, or endeavoured to Excuse it. And to speak plain, many of those Gentlemen are esteemed*

to understand better how to Dress, and to Eat, and Drink well, &c. than to perform a Charge, which requires great Discretion and Resolution.

2. That the Conduct of those Gentlemen may be reflected upon, that have suffered one Person almost to fill the Fleet with his own Creatures, and shewn no more regard to the Qualifications of Vertue and Merit, than to prefer many Men meerly for Favour and Affection, or according to the time they have served in the Fleet: So that there are in some second and third Rates, Men that have given little or no Proof of their Worth, when others that have eminently distinguished themselves, have either been wholly neglected, or put into small Ships.

3. That this sort of Commanders are grown to a kind of Faction, and make it their Endeavour to introduce Men of their own Stamp into those Employments, maintaining a kind of Animosity and Hatred against those Persons who are not of their Temper, and are put into Men of War for the sake of their Experience or Merit. Than which there can be no readier way to introduce a Degeneracy from Virtue and Bravery in our Navy, and to lose our Ancient Reputation for Maritime Performances, when the Management shall come into the Hands of men of little Experience or Conduct. Of which our late Disgrace is too fresh an Instance.

4. That many of these Commanders are so hated by the Seamen, that a Mutiny is rather to be apprehended from them, than a going chearfully to adventure their Lives with them.

5. That able Seamen are much wanting in the Fleet, and the Ships will require longer fitting than is talked of; so that I scarcely expect this Fleet can goe out this Month.

6. That if this Commission of Enquiry were continued, with the addition of two or three more Persons, as Assistants who were well skilled in Maritime Affairs, and could not
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be imposed upon by fraudulent Answers, or invented Pretences, there might be matter enough found to charge divers Officers, and shew that there is an absolute necessity of making a great Reform in the Fleet, and no less in the Office of Admiralty.

7. That untill we are so Reformed, I dare presume to say, without pretending to be a Prophet, that we shall never regain our lost Honour.

These are the Observations, which were made at that time, intire as they came to my hand. By which it appears, that the Gentleman who made them, whoever he was, was of the same Opinion, that there were Accessaries at Land as well as at Sea to this Miscarriage. And it is probable that there were more than he had then occasion to reflect upon, and such as were really and properly Accessaries in that particular Miscarriage: Such as it is very fit, upon all the Considerations before mentioned, that the State should inquire of.

But 'tis likely there are some who are and have been Accessaries, it may be more remotely, and therefore not so easie to be charged; yet no less effectual, but rather *Prime Causes* in this and all the rest of our Disappointments both of this and the last Year; and, which is worse, are like still so to be, in more for the future, unless the *Occasions* thereof be speedily taken into good Consideration, and with great steadiness and Resolution as effectually reformed and prevented as may be.

The *Mischiefs* thereby done to this Nation, and to the Common Cause, are greater already than most Men are well aware of. We have promoted nothing, are in no better a condition than we were in the Spring last was twelve month. Our Condition has been much like that of a bewitched Cart, we have whip'd, and heav'd, and made a great stir, and yet are in effect but where we were, if *Ireland* was now wholly reduced: For it might certainly have been reduced at first with less difficulty than
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the taking of *Limrick* now at last. *Tyrconnel* then wanted only some body to quit it to, with some such Force and Power, that he might do it honourably. It is not to be doubted but there were some *Husbands* then about the King, who took the Occasion of his being a Stranger, to impose upon him with specious dilatory Counsels, Misrepresentations of things, and ill Recommendations of Persons, which was the more easie then to be done, when most of our great Men were so intent upon improving the Opportunity for their own peculiar Advantage, that they minded little else, 'till they had secured what they could for themselves.

But this is not all ; besides the Loss of so much *Time*, we have lost a great many *Lives* ; more without doing any thing, than were necessary to have secured the whole Countrey at first : We have lost much of our *Trade*, not only at Sea, but at Land also, as much as depends upon our Trade at Sea ; and also lost vastly in what we had out before, and was returning home, or sent out since ; and besides lost it to our *Enemies*, which makes it in effect a double loss to us : And, (which by that means falls the heavier upon the Nation) have not done what we have done at last, without so great *Expence* as will make our Supplies come so much the harder. And all these are Losses actually sustain'd : But in a true and just Estimate of the Mischief, the *Hazards and Dangers* it hath brought us into, ought also to be computed ; the common Hazard of War ; the great Trouble that a Disappointment at first in that Expedition might have occasioned ; and the Hazard of his Majesties Person to prevent it : And one more, which is of very great importance, but such as few are so sensible of it as it deserves, and that is the Confederacy, lest a Dissolution, or such Interruption therein as may retard their Proceedings, should happen : Which, all things considered, may very easily be ; and that makes the improvement of the Opportunity the more valuable and so much the more aggravates the Miscarriage of those who hinder it.

it. And though no such hath yet happened, yet are we by this means still in more and more danger of it, both by reason of the Charges of the War so long continued, and of many unexpected Accidents, which may occur before the next Summer. I say nothing here of the great Opportunity and Advantage of proceeding against *France*, then under a great Consternation, which was lost: because it is not understood or considered, nor perhaps will be believed. And without that, the other Mischiefs and Disappointments we have had, and may still expect, if the Occasions be not removed, are sufficient to make all that have any sense and concern look about them.

The immediate *Occasions* of these Disappointments, which have all proceeded from the Miscarriages of the Persons employed, were the employing of such Persons as were not duely qualified: And this leads us directly to *the Persons who employed them*; that is, who either by Authority, or by Recommendation were the immediate Causes or Occasions that they were employed. It is true, they were all employed by the King, in some respect, as by his Authority, but all or most either immediately by others, who were intrusted and Commissioned by him, or at least by the Recommendations, Perswasions or Advice of others: And if any of these did act therein upon any sinister respects, they were really and effectually Accessaries to the Disappointments, which proceeded from the Miscarriages of the Persons so employed.

Now what *Sinister Respects* might prevail in this matter, and might therefore be the *Original Occasions* of the Employment of such Persons, is not hard to be perceived by any Man who considers the present Disposition of a great part of this Nation, and especially of those who scuffle for Places, or are very forward to catch at them. There was not any Vice more propagated by the Evil Example of King *Charles the Second*, than *Greediness, Unfaithfulness*

and *Knavery*. The Nation was cheated of their Money, by corrupting their Trustees, (their Representatives in Parliament;) which was one of the greatest Knaveries that could be practised: And this came at last to some of the grossest, Shutting up the *Exchequer*, seizing peoples Charity for the Redemption of Slaves, and surprizing the *Dutch Smyrna Fleet*. And by such means were those about him taught to do the like, and even to cheat himself; which produced such a general Corruption in that respect, that Cheating and Knavery came into Fashion, and was affected, so it could be done neatly, as a recommendation of Wit and Parts; and *Honesty and Plain-dealing* was despised as Ignorance of the World, and Folly: And so notorious were the Frauds and Cheats practised in his Reign, as had never been known in this Nation before. But this was not all, it had this other pernicious Influence, that many even of those, who were not corrupted by it, so far as to plain Knavery, were yet plainly thereby infected with insatiable Avarice and Over-valuation of the things of the World; and those generous and heroick Virtues of Piety and Charity, and Faith, which overcomes the World, which make Men more active for the Service of God and their Countrey, than for the Advancement of themselves or their Families in Estates or Honour among Men; were either totally extinguished and suppressed, or at least despised and reproach'd, if they dared to appear with any confidence of their Innocence and Sincerity, as Folly, Madnes, Enthusiasm, Fanaticism, Precipitant Zeal, Indiscretion, Melancholly, and whatever the selfish temporizing Genius of the times could imagine: And the only *Wisdom then in Fashion* was Self-preservation, and Self-seeking Pretences of Loyalty and Zeal for the Government; and Self-Interest passed current, as an excusable, if not commendable End of all Mens Actions: But the improvement of all Advantages, and making the best of ones own, was unquestionable. And such in particular was the *Selling of Places, receiving of Gratifications* for them, or *confering them by*
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way of Gratification, or for Affection to Relations or Friends, without much regard to the Service of the Publick. This had so far prevailed then, and excited such Emulation and Appetite in most Spectators, and many who were then kept off at a distance, that it is not credible that it should have ceased of it self since the late Revolution, which brought many new Incentives with it, but hath not yet produced any such Charms as were like to lay it. This therefore may very well be believed to be *one of those Sinister respects* which may have prevailed in this Case : And as there is no small reason from what I have said to believe it, so I find it commonly believed by those, who in all probability little considering these things which I have now mentioned, must therefore have some other reasons from matter of Fact for their belief. We have seen Remarks upon the ill Consequences of Buying and Selling of Offices lately published in Print, and by a publick Intelligencer, who had either reason to believe that it is our own Case, or his Remarks were very impertinent, and not only impertinent but something worse ; and if he did believe it, his expressing himself as far from granting any such Practices to be in use here in *England*, favours more of that vulgar Wisdom lately in fashion, than of those Virtues I mentioned before. For my own part I was never privy to any such Negotiations, and therefore can say nothing of it of my own particular knowledge ; but for the reasons before mentioned, and others, besides common report upon the Observation of the course of our Affairs, I make no question of it. And this I can say, that when not long since I recommended a Person, who was a stranger to me, but I understood by others, and by a Certificate under his Captains hand, had behaved himself well in the last Engagement, and deserved Preferment, to a Noble Lord, to be by him recommended to the Commissioners of the Admiralty, I understood by him that such Recommendations were not well taken there. Which, I confess,

self, looks to me as a sign of some Sinister Respects too prevalent amongst them; for otherwise such Recommendation of such Persons is a thing desirable for the Service of the King and Kingdom. And I hope the late Miscarriages at Sea will make this business be more narrowly looked into for the future: For I cannot think that *Tor-rington* alone could ever have done so great Mischief, if there had not been others too ready to comply with him. And to conclude this matter, I look upon *Insatiable Desire of the superfluous things of the World* to be one of the great Corruptions of all sorts of People of this Nation at this time, and a principal Impediment of generous Actions for the Publick Good, even in those who are otherwise Well-wishers to it.

They, who have so little sense of the Concerns of their Countrey, as to dispose of Publick Places and Offices of Trust for private Gain to themselves, will be apt to do as much for *Favour and Affection* to their private Friends and Relations, without regard to their Merit or Qualifications for the Service of the Publick. But besides these, there is another sinister Respect, which is very prevalent upon many, who it may be scorn to take Money upon any such account, and usually imposeth upon them under the Appearance of Service to the Publick, to the King and Government, and that is *Faction*. This hath had no small share in the introducing of many very ill men into Employments, and keeping out many very good, cordially affected to the Government, and as well qualified for the Service; and by these, and other Means besides, hath been a principal Occasion of retarding our Progress, and of the Disappointments we have met with.

This Nation hath been long pestered with a Combination of two pernicious Factions, and from them and the Principles of their generation, hath lately upon the late Revolution proceeded a third; and that the most dangerous of all: So that now it is become a *Tripple Faction*,

a Beast with three Heads, according to the Sacred Representations of such things. The two former were the Old Court Faction, and the Old Church Faction. The third, which hath risen of late, do most of them agree with the former in other matters; but being perswaded that King *James* could not any way forfeit his Right, nor did really abdicate it, believe he hath still a Right; and yet not satisfied to sit still and enjoy their Estates, their Rights, their Religion, and their Consciences under the present Settlement in quiet, and be thankful to God for their Deliverance from those dangerous Conspiracies which began to be put in practice, (as divers worthy Persons, who have otherwise the same sentiments with themselves do,) will needs engage in such Employments as oblige them to act in Council, or in War against him, whom notwithstanding they believe to be their King *de Jure*: And thus while they own two Masters, and cannot possibly serve both, they are in great danger to serve neither faithfully.

As to the disposing of Places, they all agree in this, to keep out all they can, who are not of their Party, though otherwise never so cordial Friends to K. *William* and Qu. *Mary*, and the present Settlement, never so zealous for the Common Cause, never so well qualified for the Service, never so Pious and Vertuous, if they be not of the Party or Faction: But be they but zealous for the interest of their Party, tho' they be never so vitious, debauch'd or profane; never so empty and shallow, never so blustering and inconsiderate, never so meanly qualified, they shall be embraced as honest Men, nay, as good Church of *England* Men, and recommended to serve not only in Parliament, (for which there are none now who think not themselves sufficiently qualified) but other Employments of greatest weight and moment. And while they all agree to keep out all that are not of their party, this new Faction take care to bring in as many as they can
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of theirs ; that is, such as acknowledging King *James* his Right still to remain and continue, are not satisfied to enjoy their own in quiet, but for their own advantage will pretend and undertake to act against him. By these means is the King and Kingdom deprived of the Service of a great part of the best and most serviceable of the People : and our Offices and Places are filled with Persons of no Worth, or of as little Affection to the Service ; and such as are apt upon occasion by secret Services, to ingratiate themselves with King *James* ; and so wise, as not to disoblige him by overacting to his prejudice, when they can with any colour avoid it. And how any great Work managed by people so affected to it, is like to succeed, is no hard matter to guess.

That this is plainly our Case, cannot, I am perswaded, but be easily perceived by all Parties ; by some with no little satisfaction, and by others with no less Indignation and Trouble, to see so Noble, and at first so prosperous a Cause, thus obstructed and disappointed by a mixture of vitious and careless, and of treacherous and unfaithful People ; while others, who are both serious and heartily affected to it, are kept out of the Service. But how it may most effectually be helped, is not so easily apprehended, nor well understood. Two or three things there are which may be proposed with a great deal of Reason, and I confess do deserve to be well considered ; yet if we look no farther, I am well satisfied, will either never be effected, or if they be, will never of themselves produce the Effects expected from them.

The first is, that the King, who hath so far exposed his own Royal Person to danger for us, and for the common Cause of the Confederates, may not be longer deprived of the Service of such as are his sincere Friends, and ready to do the like for him, for it, and for the whole Nation, by a superfluous clause in the letter of the Law, no way necessary to the declared scope of it. I mean the Stat. 25. *Car.*

2. c. 2. which among other things enacts, *That all and every Person and Persons so to be admitted as aforesaid, shall also receive the Sacrament of the Lords Supper according to the usage of the Church of England, within three months after his or their Admittance in, or receiving their said Authority and Employment, in some publick Church, upon some Lords Day, commonly called Sunday, immediately after Divine Service and Sermon.* This Act was made for preventing Dangers, which then might happen from Popish Recusants, as appears by the Title, is declared in the very beginning of the Act, and is emphatically expressed by the words *Popish Recusants*, which restrain it to them alone of all Dissenters. And though there be some words, as, *according to the usage of the Church of England, and, in some Publick Church*, which restrain the admittance to Conformists only; yet it is plain, that that restraint neither was necessary, nor was designed by the Act for that purpose, or in order to that end: and therefore considering the Practice of those Times, it is not to be doubted but they were put in partly by the Papists, to divide the Protestants in that as well as in matters of Religion, that so they might have a party of Protestants in the same condition with themselves, which was a very common Policy among them, and partly by the Faction, that they might ingrois all. And though at that time it might be thought fit to let it pass so, rather than hazard the loss of the Bill; yet now that we have a Prince whom we may safely trust, and great Reason to unite our whole strength against the common Enemy, not to remove that Obstacle by so easie an Expedient, as instead of *according to the usage of the Church of England, in some Publick Church*, to make it *in some solemn or Publick Assembly of Protestants*, and the Certificates to be by the Persons who administer, and three or four credible Persons of the Assembly, or something to the like effect; may be thought in them who oppose it, an argument of greater affection to the late King *James*,
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than to the present King *William*, and to the Papists or the Faction, than to the true Protestant Interest, since such an alteration doth not in the least impede the design of the Act so fully as before declared.

Another is, That we do not intangle our selves in our own Policies, by stooping to little Arts and pieces of vulgar Craft, but proceeding steadily upon Principles of Justice, Humanity, and true Wisdom, unnecessarily exasperate none, give all fair and reasonable Terms, Conditions and Benefits that can be desir'd to all; but never expose a good Cause by so mean Compliance, as to commit matters of great Trust and weight to such as are not entirely for it, but whose declared Principles make such a Condescension as little honourable as safe. To be plain, the People of this Nation being divided in Opinion upon the late Revolution, part holding that the Right of the late King *James*, by his own Actions, and the Declaration thereupon of the *Lords and Commons*, by their Representatives fairly chosen, is fully determined, and that the Royal Authority is justly and effectually, to all intents and purposes transferred to the present King and Queen; but others being of opinion that King *James* is still King *de Jure*, and King *William* only King *de Facto*: These last are again divided among themselves into two or three parties; one part being satisfied to live peaceably and quietly under the present Government, but not to swear Allegiance to the present King, nor act under him against the former; another part being zealous for the restoring of King *James*: And a third of such, who though they declare their Opinion, that King *James* is still King *de Jure*, yet make no scruple to act under the present King, not only in little matters, but in such matters of State and War, wherein they must either act directly against him, whom they acknowledge to have the Right, or else be false to him who entrusts 'em. And this is the Party that I mean: whom because I cannot see how in Conscience they

they can act as they do, I cannot see how in prudence they can be trusted. And therefore I should think it no hard or unreasonable matter to secure the Government against all the Dangers which may arise from Men of those Principles; for if they may freely enjoy not only their own private Rights, but also all such publick Employments and Preferments, as are consistent with their Principles for them to execute, which is as much as in Honesty and Conscience they can desire, or in Honour and Prudence can be committed to them, they have no reason to complain, but rest satisfied therewith, and thankful to God for his Deliverance from a worse condition: and those, who professing these Principles are yet not satisfied with all that, may justly be suspected as Persons either of vain and ambitious minds, or of turbulent and ill Designs, and therefore not to be admitted to any publick Employment at all, or to be discharged if already in any such. For these are the Men whom I apprehend to have been the most effectual Remora's in our Proceedings, and chief Occasions, or Instruments in all our Disappointments.

And indeed I have all along from the beginning look'd upon a certain Condescension to a Compliance with some of this Party, to be *one of the first false Steps* which have been made since the beginning of the Revolution; and a *Daubing*, into which we were Betrayed by the pedantick Policies of some, who had special reason to have made better use of a good Caution against it; a thing of so pernicious Consequence to his Majesty, that I look upon the Miscarriage of *Torrington* to be but a Trifle in comparison to it, and as inconsistent with true Divinity, as with true Policy. Poor Prince! how did my Heart ake for him about that time, though I knew not what was the matter. But Princes are Men, and subject to the like Infirmities with other Men; and to such Oversights as bring many times much Trouble and Disturbance after them. But what *Error in Divinity* was
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here committed, I will leave to the Consideration of those, whose Office it was to have discerned and given faithful Notice of it, rather than prove a Temptation, and mislead into it ; though I doubt the fault here in this will be as little understood, as was that in the Order of the Parliament for the Thanksgiving. by the Vindicator. For when Mens Minds are much intended to the things of the World, and bigg with the acquest of them, they are usually thereby too much diverted and clouded to discern, and be of quick Understanding in such matters, be the importance thereof what it will : But for *the Error in Policy*, since we feel so much of it, I think it greatly concerns the King and Kingdom, that it be well understood, and speedily redressed. By that one Condescension which I mention'd before, was much of that great Authority, and true Majesty, which the special Providence of God had conferr'd upon his Instrument, and was really a Talent to be wisely used, unhappily lost and subjected to a Party not entire for his Interest : For thereby was the whole Party, whereof many were doubtful before, greatly confirmed, and animated, and raised above their Expectations and themselves. Nor was this all : for this made others, who were not otherwise of the Party, seeing the Stream run so strong that way, presently fall in with them : So that their numbers were thereby increased by the concurrence of many, who regarding only which side was most prevalent, would as readily have joyned with those, who being fully satisfied with the Justice of the Cause, and of the Proceedings, were cordial and entire Friends to it, had they appeared as powerful in Favour at the Court. And this, as it made them appear more considerable to others, so that, when they observ'd it made them still more confident to promote such Persons and Things, as, if thoroughly examined, will be found to have been more for the Service of the late King *James*, and the *French* King, than of the present King, and the Confederates.

rates. Not only such, as were heretofore Creatures of the late King, but such as few thought well affected to this, and are believed to have really done no little Service to the former, and Disservice to this, by unfaithful Management, have been first recommended, and afterward secured, even from the effectual Proceedings of the Parliament it self. And this again hath produced *another* mischievous Consequence, that generally such as depend upon their Employments, observing how all Miscarriages are covered, and either wholly vindicated, or greatly extenuated, and the Agents protected and secured, they dare not speak out what they know, for fear of disobliging not only this powerful Party, but even the Criminals themselves. And as foul and gross a Miscarriage as this hath been of the late Admiral at Sea, it is generally believed by such as converse much with Seamen, that many are afraid to disoblige him if they should speak out. In these Observations I might proceed *one step further*; but I think fit to stop here, this being sufficient to demonstrate to any man of sense, in how dangerous a Condition the King and Queen are, of being delivered up as an Expiatory Sacrifice to their Enemies, and these Nations of being involved in Blood and Confusion; and from whence all this Danger comes. And though *other Instances* might be given of such Counsels and Proceedings as were of dangerous Consequence, and mischievous to the King and his Interest; yet I desire not to exasperate or aggravate things unnecessarily, this which I have said being alone sufficient to evince the Error of that Policy, from which all hath proceeded.

It makes me many times think of the Subtile Policies of King *James* the First, who thought by his King-craft to have out-done all the World, but was in most matters of moment over-reached himself. Just such hath proved this daubing Policy of some conceited Politicians, impatient of delay in some expected Preferments, who unhappily mislead the King at his first coming into so dangerous

and unsafe a Tract, and being better skilled in the Theory of vulgar Policy, than in the Practice of that which is solid and substantial, by over-doing have undone all, and built upon so false and sandy a Foundation, as will bring all into Confusion, unless it be speedily prevented by some very good and effectual Means. For otherwise as we have been betrayed all along, we are like still so to be, till both King and Kingdom be surpriz'd and involv'd in some such Mischiefs as aforesaid. This, it is plain to all, who have Wit enough to perceive it, and Honesty enough to confess it, was very near to have been our Case this Summer, had not the special Providence of God interpos'd and prevented it, by preserving both the Kings Person, and our Fleet, from the nearest approaches of Destruction that could be. A Deliverance, perhaps, if well understood, and considered in all its Circumstances, not inferiour to those of the *Spanish* Invasion, and *Gun-Powder* Treason. And I wish we may be wise, strengthen our selves indeed, and mark and see what we do: for at the Return of the Year, those *Syrians*, if they find still such Encouragement from home, will certainly again come up against us.

But what are these *Good and Effectual Means*, by which all this Mischief may be prevented? Why, that also I will endeavour by the Grace of God to declare plainly. And the plain truth is, it is meer Brutishness and Stupidity not to look further than all this, and perceive a *Precedent* effectual Cause, to which a proper application must be made, before any Relief or Amendment can be had; and which, till that be done, will rankle, fester, and produce still worse symptoms upon the use of whatever other Means we can think of. For all this is of God, who hath the Hearts of all Men in his Hand, and hath done admirably in all these things; hath corrected us but in mercy, and given us fair warning. He preserved our Fleet from surprize and sudden Destruction,

on, when at anchor in *St. Hellens Bay*, the *French* were so near as *Fresh-water Bay* before they knew it : And he preserved the King's Person, when he yet suffered a Cannon Bullet to come so very near as to touch him. He gave him a very Glorious Victory at Land, and yet again so ordered it, that he should suffer a great Diminution of all that Glory, by a baffle of his Fleet at Sea, and of his Army at Land against *Lymerick* ; whereas he could easily have prevented both if he had pleased : I wish both King and People may lay these things to Heart, and consider wisely what is fit to be done, least the next Bullet may be permitted, instead of the Skin to take the Heart, and the next Engagement instead of Baffles, bring Confusion upon the Nation : It is dangerous dallying in this Case, and dangerous trifling in Sacred Things. I will not repeat what I have said before in my Reflections upon the Occurrences of the last Year ; indeed I need not, for I have too much new Matter to mention. Nor does it belong to me to enquire what hath been done in pursuance of the King's Pious and Prudent Letter to the Bishop of *London*, and the other Bishops ; for that belongs to them to do. But this I will say, though it make the Ears of all pious People that hear it to tingle, if by any means I may raise up a better Spirit in the Nation, and shame the great Men of it into better Manners in time, to prevent a more severe Correction. I had a Message sent me by a very Pious and Reverend Divine of the *Church of England*, That it was desired by divers of the Bishops, that I would prepare a Bill for them for an Act of Parliament, for more effectual correcting of the notorious Sins and Vices of this Nation. Who those Bishops were, I was not told, nor was it material ; but I could not but readily embrace so pious a Motion, and therefore presently set to work, drew up a foul Draught, and advised first with some private Friends of good Ability, and at last with divers of the Judges, who were then in Town, about it. The Sins and Vices were the same

same which were express'd in that good Letter before mentioned of the King to the Bishop of *London*, and the Preamble most of it in the words, and to the effect of that Letter ; and the Punishments such as are warranted by the Laws of God and Man ; and being fair transcribed it was delivered to a very good Bishop, who was spoken to by the Bishop of *London* to Preach before the Lords the Fast-Day before *Easter* : The good Man laboured with much Zeal to promote it, and intended to have recommended it to their Lordships at their House, before they went to Church, as the most proper time that could be ; but the Lords neither met at their House, nor came to the *Abby* Church, as is usual upon such Occasions, in a Body (though an Omission apt to be imputed to want of Devotion to God in some, and of Affection to the Cause in others ;) and therefore being disappointed in that, the next time they met he acquainted them with the Bill, and desired Leave to bring it into the House, which was granted indeed, but the Motion so entertain'd by some, that the most Prudential of our Bishops advised not to venture the reading of it till a more favourable time, least it should be rejected ; and their Authority kept it out at that time, and I doubt will be apt to do the like at any other, unless this plain dealing can help it, and therefore I think fit to consider this Matter a little further.

And *First*, here is matter of very serious and sad Consideration, that Vice and Wickedness should be so prevalent among the Nobility of this Nation, that the whole Body of the Bishops of the Church of *England* should not dare to offer to bring in a Bill for the Reformation thereof, least it should be rejected. And if our Nobility be come to that Degree of Obstinacy and Impudence in Sin and Wickedness, and Infatuation and Folly, as to outface the Gravity and Authority of our Bishops, and that not severally, but when assembled together, and in so solemn an Assembly, what good can we expect from them ; but rather

rather that they should provoke the Judgments of God upon themselves and the whole Nation, for the Chastisement of that which doth so outface all Humane Authority?

Secondly, It is matter of as serious and sad Consideration, that the Bishops of the Church of *England* should be sunk so low in their Authority, be become so mean in that Esteem and Veneration with the People, which used to be paid to Persons in that Sacred Function, and should retain so little of true Christian Generosity and Magnanimity, as that the whole Body of them in such an Assembly should not be able by their Gravity and weighty Admonitions to awe and confound the Malapertness of a few inconsiderate Noblemen, if any such should appear, though with the concurrence of divers of the Temporal Lords, which doubtless would not be wanting; and in case the leading Men among them did dislike that Bill or any thing in it, that they who dislike it, should have so little Zeal for the Honour and Service of God, the good of this Church and Nation, and the Reputation of their own Order, as not of themselves to provide a better before this time.

Thirdly, And this opens a very sad, but useful and necessary Prospect to all the sincere and serious Friends of the Church of *England*; whereby we may come to a better understanding both of our own Communion, and of the Dissenters; and of our Behaviour toward them, what it hath been, and what it ought to be. For our own Communion, we see here that which may correct and humble us for our vain magnifying of our Church above all others, and our despising; villifying and disturbing our Brethren, who are in many respects better than our selves; and how properly applicable that Admonition of the Faithful Witness to the Church of the *Laodiceans* is to us, *Rev. 3. 17. Thou sayest I am rich, and increased with goods, and have need of nothing; and knowest not that thou art wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked: And* what

what reason we have to fear least that Judgment denounced against them, be inflicted upon us, who are so little behind them in the same fault : *Because thou art lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I will spew thee out* : For here we see the chief of our Clergy and the chief of our Laity in one of our most solemn Civil Assemblies ; and if we look into those which should be Sacred Assemblies, we cannot deny but that they are generally greatly prophaned : For all these Persons, of whom our whole Body of Bishops are so afraid, are all Members of our Church ; not only admitted into it by Baptism, but freely admitted to the most sacred Rites in it. And as much overspread with Vice, Prophaneity and Debauchery as this Nation is, all is receiv'd with a full torrent into our Church : So that there is scarce a notorious scandalous Person in the whole Nation, but is of our Communion ; and if he be a Person of Quality, and Zealous for the Church, Complemented and Treated even by our Bishops themselves. *Such is the Discipline* of our Church, the end of which among the ancient Christians was to preserve the Honour and Integrity of our Holy Profession ; but so little of that have we remaining among us, that that Popish Relique which we have of Discipline, doth rather increase, what the genuine Christian Discipline would cure.

We are guilty of a like neglect *in our Worship* ; only it is not peculiar to us, but common to all the Reformation, which is very defective in that respect. Nor is there any Excuse for us, that I know of, but Ignorance, which is shameful enough among Men pretending so much to Learning : But if we can but purchase a little more Humility, Modesty, and Condescension to the Infirmities of our Brethren, by it, it will be well. I do not know of any Church in the World, from the Passion of our Saviour to the time of the Reformation, where the Celebration of that blessed Sacrament of the Eucharist, was not a part (as it is the peculiar part of the Christian Worship)

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of their ordinary publick Worship of God, insomuch that it was commonly called *Sacrificium quotidianum* their daily Sacrifice: The Principal Uses of it are: 1. A solemn Act of Recognition of our Redemption, and of the Dominion of our Saviour thereby acquired over us. 2. A Representation of the Passion of our Saviour to God the Father in our solemn Assemblies, as effectual to all intents and purposes in the Churches of the Gentiles, as were any or all the Sacrifices of the Jews under the Law. 3. A Spiritual Communion between God and the Souls of the Faithful, as real as was that between our Saviour and the faithful Woman, who touch'd his Garment, when he felt Vertue go out of him. 4. A Sacred Communion and Confederation between the Faithful themselves: And where all this is neglected, what can it be imputed to, but either want of Devotion and of a grateful Sense of our Redemption, and a supine Neglect of our own greatest Concern; or Infidelity and Ignorance, which, as I said, is the best, though sufficiently shameful, excuse we can make? In the Greek Church where this Neglect first began, as is noted by St. *Ambrose*, and much complain'd of by *Chrysostom*, it was follow'd with dismal Contentions, Divisions and Confusions: And I am of opinion, that not only the great Decay of Christian Piety, but the unhappy Divisions of our Church, may be imputed to this Neglect among us, as one principal Cause. And I am well satisfied that our want of a daily Christian Sacrifice among us is one of the principal Prejudices, which hinder the Reconciliation of the best of the English Papists to us; which would be much more easie, if that and two or three more Points of Controversie were but a little better look'd into and settled. But our *Second Service*, as we use it, with no little inconvenience in many Churches, is *peculiar to us*, a Novelty, such as was once introduced in *France*, and called *Missa secca*, and *Missa nautica*, but soon exploded as a jejune and barren thing; and bears witness against us for our neglect of that, without which

our Liturgy or Service in the Judgment of Learned Men, and of Bishop *Andrews* in particular, is imperfect. Besides, our Offices and Collects are defective, and not sufficient for all occasions (as may be perceived by the Bills which are daily put up to the Readers) or to express the Devotion of many pious Souls in the ordinary Service.

For the *Doctrin of the Church of England* declared in our Articles, it is certain that most of the Dissenters are as much for it as those of our Communion, and more than divers of them are; and therefore I need say nothing of that. But much of the Doctrin which hath been taught too often in our Churches since the Return of *King Charles the Second*, with a great deal of confidence, hath been so far from the genuine Christian Doctrin, that it tends very much to the Subversion thereof; to divert People from the Life and Power of Religion by reproachful Imputation of Fanaticism and Enthusiasm; from the strict conscientious observance of it by the like reproachful terms of Bigottry and Presbyterianism; and to introduce instead of the Spiritual Life and Heavenly Conversation of genuine Christians, a kind of superficial Formality and Pharisaical Morality, abstaining indeed from gross, scandalous Sins, which any Man of sense would do for his own Reputation; but leaving the Soul as much immersed in terrene Affections, as if those eminent Vertues of Humility, Contempt of the Word, Heavenly-mindedness, Devotion to God and universal Charity to all sorts of Men, so much studied and practised by the Ancient Christians, were things rather to be pitied in them as weakness, or unnecessary trouble, or Superstition, than imitated by us.

Of our Clergy, I thank God, we have many of good Learning, Vertue and Piety; Men of Moderation and Charity to all Men, but especially to all serious and pious Christians, though of different opinions concerning many things disputed in matters of Religion; and well content they should quietly enjoy the freedom of their Religion, and Civil Rights, and serve their Country, and be admitted

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into the Communion and Service of our Church upon as easie terms as may be. But there are again, no small part who are grossly scandalous, or, if not so grossly scandalous, yet make a Trade of Divinity, apply themselves to it as others do to Trades and Civil Professions, to get their Living, Estates and Preferments by it ; preach indeed and read Prayers, if they cannot keep Curates ; but have little care more of the Souls committed to their charge, and therefore never scruple at any charge though never so great, so the Profits to their Purse be but great ; and though not so grossly scandalous, give great offence to People of the higher Ranks and Parts, by their eager and insatiable pursuit of Preferments ; and thereby tempt them to suspect that they believe not themselves the Doctrine which they preach, as I was not long since upon such an occasion told by a Person of great place and parts, that he thought them all Atheists ; which though, I suppose, more than he did indeed believe, yet shews how apt it is to tempt Men to it, and I doubt not but prevails with some : And however that be, it is certainly so great a temptation and incentive to Worldly-mindedness, Covetousness, Pride and Ambition, that it utterly disables them to preach with any Life and Success, against those Vices and Sins, which though not so scandalous in vulgar Reputation as some others, are not less ensnaring to Souls and pernicious to States and Human Societies. And indeed a great part of our Clergy are plainly infected and overspread with Formality and Pharisaism, almost in all the instances of it except the best, that is, Zeal for making Profelites. But as to that, I doubt the whole Church of *England* hath much to answer for before God, who hath left them destitute of no Means or Opportunity to propagate the Gospel to the remotest parts of the World, yet have they not all equalled what hath been done by one single Gentleman, a Lay-man. Nay, even at home ; neither in *England*, *Scotland* or *Ireland* is the Gospel yet so thoroughly planted, but that vast Fields may be truly said

to lie still uncultivated. And if we enter a little farther we shall see yet greater Abominations than these, even in this great and populous City: What great numbers of People have we, who have either no Parish-Churches to repair to, or not capacious enough to receive them? and what numbers of Clergy-men walking about the Streets seeking for Employment? and some to my knowledge in great straits and necessities; (I could say more, but I forbear) while the Fat of the Land is ingrossed and devoured by others; ill Husbandmen certainly, who will not provide Labourers, because they are not willing to pay their Wages. But what doth our Church in this case? Why are not such Persons as will undertake great Charges, more than one, or two, or more can sufficiently discharge, for the sake of great Revenues, admonished of their Duty, what in Conscience they ought to do, by our Bishops in their Visitations? Are they only the Canons of the Church, and the Laws of the Land that the Bishops of our Church are to act by? Are the Admonitions of our Bishops in Matters of Duty and Conscience of so little Authority with our own Clergy, unless we have Canon or Statute to compel Conformity? And in case the Revenues of such a place be not sufficient to maintain Labourers enough, where is the Piety and Charity of our dignified Clergy, and the Use of our ample Revenues in our Church, that we have no Evangelists sent out and maintained at the charge of the Church to supply these and the like occasions? And where we see so little Charity to the Souls of Men, what wonder is it if their Piety and Devotion to God be proportionable? If they invite not others to the daily worship of God in publick, when we see it so rarely frequented by themselves? Nay not used in many Churches but Sundays; or Sundays, Wednesday days and Fridays; or not at such hours as some of their charge, and such as they ought to have a special care of- can only have for that service, without they will be at the charge themselves to hire a Reader on purpose? and per
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haps not so much as that permitted without much entreaty nor injoyed without disturbance sometimes? as if Preaching were all their work, and Hearing all that is necessary for the People; or common Civility all their Religion; but daily presenting our selves before God to worship him in publick, and assembling our selves together in such holy Worship, to animate one another thereunto, and beget and confirm mutual Charity and Piety, was not part of that Practice, which is the very End of Preaching and Hearing. And what wonder if such instruct not as they ought, and press not their People to frequent the most solemn and peculiar part of our Christian Worship, and then to excuse their own neglect falsely accuse their People, and charge it upon them?

More I might say, but I need say no more, nor have I said so much with any ill mind, but besides other good Ends for the real Service of this Church, and the good of those, who perhaps will some of them be offended at it, if there be any so void of Piety and Consideration: That we may better know our selves, and be humbled for what we really are, and not vainly vaunt of what we are not: That finding our selves so faulty, we may learn more Moderation towards our Brethren; lest by too severely judging them, instead of judging our selves as we ought, we provoke the Judgment of God upon us; especially when we our selves give the occasions of what we quarrel with them for, by a Phrisaical Exaction of things not necessary, instead of Christian Condescension to the Infirmities of the weak; by Pharisaical Persecution of Nonconformity to the Orders of Men, and at the same time permitting notorious contempt of the Laws of God by our own Members without check or controle, or scarce serious resentment; by driving them by our Prophanation and want of Disciplin from our Assemblies, and yet like Madmen labouring by the unnatural means of Force to compel them thereunto: (A Fanaticism indeed, justly to be charged upon many, who falsely charge it upon others) For it is a truth too notorious to
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be deny'd, that we have few Christian Assemblies, but those of the Dissenters, which can properly be called *Holy*; being generally all profaned by scandalous Members, and most of all those of our Chathedrals, even by scandalous Ministers, who officiate in the Choirs; the exercise of our Discipline not extending so far as to the Reformation of them who are so near at home. Lastly, that all serious, pious, vertuous and considerate Mën, who are true Lovers of their Country, may have a right Information concerning these things; and seeing deeper into this Mystery of Iniquity, may no longer suffer themselves to be abus'd and made Tools to support a pernicious Faction of Men, who for their own worldly advantage cry aloud for the Church, as if it was in danger by others, when they themselves do most of all endanger it, by the Animosities, whereby they divide it, and the Formality and Prophanation, whereby it is exposed, to the great offence of many serious and pious People; but as becomes wise Men and understanding Christians, taking these things into serious consideration, apply ourselves in good sober sadness to the proper means to preserve both Church and State, that is, to prevent the Judgments of God, which are otherwise like to overturn both by a speedy and substantial Reformation, by sincerely seeking a Reconciliation with our Brethren, whom we have offended by our Scandals and harsh and uncharitable dealings, and all unite as fellow Christians and Compatriots, and joyn all our strength and forces first to suppress and exterminate the Common Enemy at home, our reigning Sins of Prophaness, Debauchery and Contempt of the Gospel, and then select the most proper, the most faithful and best qualified, for Council, Conduct, Industry and Courage, of what ever Rank, Degree or Profession they be, if sober and vertuous, to employ both for management at home, and against our Enemies abroad. Then may we hope to prosper, but not till then: For as the Miscarriages of Princes often bring Mischiefs upon the People, so do the Sins and Wickedness of
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the People as often bring Crosses and Disappointments upon the most hopeful Enterprizes of the best of Princes; not only as natural Consequences, but by the special Judgments of God. And this brings me to my next Observation upon that business of the Bill. And therefore,

Fourthly, This *Prudential Advice*, which prevailed to lay aside that Bill till a more favourable time, may satisfy us of the truth of what I mentioned in my former Reflections modestly, and only as matter of suspicion, viz. That the King had not been faithfully dealt with in a matter of the same nature, and of great moment to himself, in respect of a special Duty incumbent upon him by a special Obligation, as well as to the Nation. For as we see plainly that the same Prudential Considerations prevailed in both, so there is no reason to doubt but they came from the same Author; and if my Information fails me not, these were not the only times they did so. I am sorry that this vain Worldly Wisdom, which is Foolishness with God, should be so deeply imbibed by such as should understand better things, and I doubt will one day be call'd to account for it. But I do not a little rejoyce to see that so plainly, which I hope may mitigate much of the Offence in the King though it light so much the heavier somewhere else. For I am so well satisfied that neither of these Prudential Advices, which I have mention'd, are consistent either with true Policy or sound Divinity, or free from such Sin, as doth usually provoke at least smart Corrections, that I dare undertake to make it good against the Author or Authors of them, whoever he or they are. But as this is no proper place to add more to what I have said already on that Subject; so I hope the fair Admonitions, which our own Experience hath already given us, will make it needless. And therefore without further Reflections upon what is past, we are now to look forward what is now to be done, and what are those *Good and Effectual Means* to set us free from this impeded and enchanted Condition.

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And the first thing to be done is to lay a good Foundation to secure the Favour and Blessing of the Divine Providence ; which alone can make all go on prosperous and smooth, and very successful ; but without it, all other, the most proper means that can be propos'd, will still prove ineffectual and abortive, and be retarded with perpetual cross Accidents and Disappointments ; nay prove themselves occasions of Mischief. And this in truth has been our Case, whether it has been understood or not, from our first Attempts of reducing *Ireland*. Miscarriages in Persons employed and intrusted I easily allow to be the immediate Causes : But 'tis a superficial Inspection that can see no farther into the Matter: The Original Cause lies a step or two farther back ; but we are here only to look forward : Therefore in short, the only true way, to obtain or secure the Favour and Blessing of God, is to remove the *Cursed Thing* which hath all this while interposed and with-held them from us. And it must be begun by a speedy, resolute and effectual Reformation of the great Impiety and Wickedness of the Nation ; and this must be begun by the King himself, and in another manner than is yet done. His Letter to the Bishops is a good and pious Letter ; but what good it hath done I know not. The Bishops I know, talked of other Letters also of their own ; but I see them not, or any good Effect of either. But the King hath a Civil Power, which must be exerted. It is his Office and Duty, *To see the Laws duly executed* ; and when he finds that neglected, to send out his special Command to require and enjoin the due Execution of them ; and to punish or displace such as are Negligent and Remiss, and put others in their places, who will more faithfully discharge their Duty. It is his Duty also to *recommend to the Parliament* to make further Provision for such Laws as he finds wanting to supply the Defects of those we have already : And 'tis likewise His Duty, as well as His Wisdom to *encourage Vertue and Piety, and discountenance Vice and Wickedness,*
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by the dispensation of his Favours, and demonstration of his Displeasure accordingly. All this is most certainly his Duty, and if he doth not faithfully discharge it both to God and to the Nation, he cannot expect either the Blessing of God or the faithful Concurrence of the People with him. But because I find no reason to doubt of his own good Inclinations to so good a Work, I see but two things further necessary to be noted to this Purpose: The one, that he beware of, and banish from his Presence such Persons, especially Clergy-men, as he hath found, either evil Counsellors or false Guides, in a Matter of so apparent Duty and great Importance to himself and the Nation. The other, that he likewise beware, (and to that purpose give encouragement to faithful Informations) that he partake not in the sins of the late Kings, by setting up notorious Examples of Vice and Wickedness in Honour or great Places. And upon this Occasion I cannot but take Notice of what I have been told, by one who said he was present, that two of the Principal Officers of our Fleet, (whom he Named) before the late Engagement, when they had received the Sacrament to qualify them for their Employment, entertained themselves at Dinner with pleasant Discourse of what Women and whose Wives they had Debauch'd: And it is reported that a Person notorious over all *England* for the like Injury, with some aggravation to a Person of Quality, is lately put into a great Place in *Ireland*. Such impious Persons, who glory in their Impiety and Contempt of Religion, ought to be abominated and detested by all Men, as Enemies of God and Men, and Associates of Devils and Cursed damned Spirits. Shall a mortal Man be moved at an Affront or Contempt offered to his Father or his Friend, tho' absent; and shall not all Men (even the *Mob*, as we call them, who have more Steadiness, Constancy and Virtue, than a great part of our Nobility and Gentry have had of late) express their Indignation against those, who shall dare thus to Contemn and

Affront the great and glorious Author of our Being, upon whom we all continually depend, by such impudent Violation of his righteous Laws? Be they Gentlemen or Noble-men, or what they will, they are ten thousand times worse than the Dirt of the Streets, and ought to be trod upon by the meanest of Humane Race. Nay, shall a King, who is but a mortal Worm, expect Honour and Obedience, and Fidelity from his Fellow-Creatures, and many of them possibly upon a true estimate much better than Himself; and yet endure the Majesty of Heaven, whose Deputy he is, to be so affronted, by those whom his Divine Providence hath subjected to his Power to be govern'd in all Righteousness, and not exert the utmost of that Power, and use all means possible to suppress them, tho' it were to the hazard of twenty Kingdoms, and a thousand Lives besides? Certainly Humane Nature, were it not mightily corrupted, could not with any Patience endure such Contempt of our Creator and Redeemer, and the Religion we profess. And besides all this, what good can we expect with any Moral Assurance from People of so little Consideration and Constancy, or Command of themselves, as to hazard their Souls, by prostituting Religion to give Credentials to a vitious Prince, that they might more easily obtain his Favour; or of so little Wit and Observation, as no better to distinguish Times and Persons, but think this King must needs be such as themselves are, or the former, that they impudently persist in the same wicked Courses, and take this Liberty to affront Religion, which he professeth, not in shew as the other did, but in reality? And therefore to conclude this Matter, as it is the Kings Duty to remove such Abuses and scandalous Persons, it being in his Power of himself to do it, so it is the Right of the Subject, and their Duty too to God, to desire and demand it. For we cannot expect the Blessing of God to be with us, 'till those Scandals and Abominations be removed, either by the Reformation or Removal of the Persons, or by the Destructi-

on of most of them in a long continued War, without Honour to the King, or Satisfaction to the People, 'till that be done. And I may be bold to say, it is desir'd and expected of him, by all the Serious, Virtuous and Pious, (that is, the best, and which will prove in conclusion the most prevalent Part) of the Nation. Christianity will certainly revive here in a short time in its ancient Power and Splendor; and nothing can be so glorious and advantageous to this King as to be a vigorous Instrument in it.

This Foundation being well laid, we may proceed to the rest with Confidence of the Divine Favour and Blessing upon us, and that no Opposition shall be able to stand before us: And *the next Business* will be, *to put the Management of our Affairs into the hands of such as the King may reasonably Confide in*, for their Integrity and Affection to his Cause, and sufficient Qualifications for the Employments committed to them. And this is a Duty which the King owes both to the Kingdom, and to his Confederates in this great Cause, and he cannot in Honour, no more than in Prudence do otherwise. Nay, I will say more, it is a Duty, which he owes to God, whose Cause it is, who hath raised him up to be his Instrument in it, who hath given him so great Experiments of his Conduct and Protection, and is still ready to prosper him in it, provided he be faithful to his Conduct, and do not dishonour him by relaxing his Confidence therein, and yielding to the Temptation of vulgar Politicks; which would but weaken his Interest, and prove deceitful and a Snare to him. *Fidelity of Soul* to God is the great business and exercise of all our Lives; but in them who are raised up to be Instruments in any great Work, it is in a special manner required that it be firm and steddly, as becomes those who are experienc'd Masters in it, not mutable and unstable like Novices and Learners. To this is required great Courage and Vigour, grounded upon firm Trust and Confidence in the infallible Wisdom and Power of God, with an intire resignation of

the Event of all to his Will : But there is also required true Wisdom to improve all Opportunities and Advantages, and to avoid all Inconveniences, and truly to distinguish which are which. And there is moreover required Righteousness, without which there can be neither true Wisdom, whatever specious appearance it may have, nor Fidelity to God ; for it would be a departure from his Ways, and a Distrust of the sufficiency of his Conduct, and a Dishonour to him. And whoever steps out of his Way, will certainly intangle himself, and lose all his labour at the least. Such courses shall never prosper, or bring a Man benefit, if they bring not greater Mischief upon him. I speak of his good Instruments for good, and not of his Instruments for Correction and Vengeance, such as Evil Spirits, and Evil Men, whom he frequently lets loose to satisfy their own wicked Appetites for punishment of others. I have already distinguished with relation to this business *four sorts of People* in this Nation ; one part who are zealous for restoring of the late King *James*, and that these are not to be employ'd, I need not use many words to demonstrate : but yet I think that they also are to be distinguish'd ; and that such of them as never submitted to this Government, but appear fairly as Enemies, are to be treated no worse than Enemies of War, and not as Traitors ; but such as appear and act in publick as Subjects, and yet shall be found in secret Conspiracies against this Government, may justly be dealt with as Traytors. Only thus much Favour I should be for ever for them ; that whereas I doubt not but there have been many this Summer actually engaged in, or privy to a most dangerous Conspiracy, and that not only for their King *James*, but under that pretence with the *French*, who are Enemies to their Countrey ; yet if they will confess how far they have been concerned in any such matter, and either give sufficient assurance to submit and live peaceably for the future, or declare themselves, and depart the Kingdom, they should be free

free so to do : but they who will not, are to be looked upon as Traytors ; and it is part of that Fidelity which the King owes both to God, and to the People, who entrusted him with the Government, to cause diligent and strict Enquiry to be made into it, lest we be involved in greater Michiefs before the next Summer be over.

Another sort are such, who from some mistaken Notions of Government, which they had unthinkingly imbib'd, are perswaded that the late King *James* hath still a Right ; but considering his Religion, and to whom he hath subjected his Conscience for Information and Direction, and what Confusions and Mischiefs were thereby begun, and likely in time to have been brought upon these Nations, and our Confederates, are sensible of the Providence and Mercy of God, in sending us such a Deliverance ; and therefore tho' they will not foolishly and ungratefully resist this gracious Providence of God, but are willing to enjoy it in quiet ; yet think fit not to stain or strain their Consciences in acting against him, who they think hath a Right. And these in my apprehension are right honest Men, and deserve all the Favours and Kindness they can in reason desire : And I shall endeavour in a more proper Place to do them some Service, by shewing them their Error ; but I have no more to say of them here, in relation to such Employments as I speak of, for like honest men they will not accept them.

A third sort are of those, who have the same Opinion of the Right of King *James*, that the former have, and will not recognize the present King and Queen to be rightful King and Queen ; yet make no scruple to swear Allegiance to them, to act under their Authority, and not only so, but to act in Council and War against him whom they believe to have the Right still, and they know hath had not long since the Possession also. I know very well that by our Laws what is done for or against a King *de Facto*, is equally justifiable or punishable, as if he was also King *de Jure* ;

Jure ; and good reason there may be for it, *viz.* That honest well-meaning People may not suffer for what they do in the sincerity of their Hearts, believing it to be just and right, and, That the Peace of the Kingdom may not be disturbed upon pretence of, or for the Right of a particular Person, though King *de Jure*. But this just and reasonable Law, cannot, I doubt, excuse, *in foro Conscientie*, such as for private temporal respects, or unnecessarily act against one whom they believe to have the Right, and to be King *de Jure*. All honest Conscientious Men are very cautious, and not easily perswaded to act in a doubtful Case, when without doubt they may lawfully abstain ; and therefore they who are easily perswaded to it upon a Prospect of Preferment, may justly be suspected : But they who in such Case thrust themselves forward, may be concluded to be Men of little Conscience, Honesty or Honour : And therefore I am of Opinion that they, who believe in their Conscience that the late King hath yet a right to Reign, and that King *William* and Queen *Mary* are only King and Queen *de Facto*, and therefore refuse and oppose a Recognition of them to be rightfull King and Queen, cannot in Honour or Honesty act in Council or War in this Case. And for the same reason I am also of Opinion, that neither can any Prince, who acts not as a private Man for his own Interest, but as a publick Person for a whole Society of Men, and, as our present Case is, for the common Concern of divers other Princes and People, in Prudence or Honour commit any such Employment to any Person of that Opinion. For it is plainly to tempt him first to be false to his own Conscience for the sake of the Employment, and next to be false to him who employs him for the sake of his Conscience : For no Man can long act vigorously and steddily, *reluctante Conscientia*, and the Consideration that Right (that is, what he takes to be so) may one day take place, will be a continual check upon him for ever doing any considerable Service

vice againſt it ; and a continual Motive to hearken to any probable Overtures for it. And this Conſideration, that the King cannot in Honour commit any ſuch Employment to them, as things ſtand at preſent, ought to be another Motive to them to abſtain, even out of Reſpect to the King, if they have any for him ; and if they have not, he hath the leſs reaſon to employ them : But otherwiſe I would not have them abridged of the leaſt benefit of the Revolution that their Hearts can in reaſon deſire.

Theſe ſeveral ſorts of Perſons are moſt of them of the Nobility, Gentry, Clergy, or Citizens of ſome particular Cities, or Officers in our Fleet and Armies : But of all our Nobility, or however of our Gentry, Clergy and Citizens of the ſeveral Cities of the Nation, I hope the greateſt part by much, and our Yeomanry, and the great Body of the People, and the Sea-men, are beyond all diſpute generally all, entire for the preſent Settlement and Right of the preſent King and Queen : And all theſe are alſo firm for the Proteſtant Religion, and for the Common Good of the Nation, and for the Common Cauſe of the Confederates. And therefore it is all the reaſon in the World that all theſe, that is, the King and Queen, the Proteſtant Religion, the Common Good of the Nation, and the Common Cauſe of all the Confederates, ſhould have the common and United Aſſiſtance of them all. Nor can I believe that any will oppoſe it but ſuch as are in truth, in the bottom, more hearty for a Party, than for the Chriſtian Religion ; for a Faction, than for the common Good of the Nation ; for King *James*, than for King *William* ; or for the Corruptions and Abuſes of Popery, than for the Purity and Power of the true Religion ; and for the Uſurpations, Incroachments and Tyranny of the *French Nimrod*, than for the juſt and noble Cauſe of the Confederates. And if this be true that I ſay, and I be not greatly miſtaken, it will hence follow that the King himſelf is oblig'd in Prudence, in Juſtice and Honour to recommend the Removal

removal of all Impediments, by the Statutes of the two last Reigns, to the Parliament with all Earnestness ; and that he, being a Protestant Prince, hath great reason to resent any Opposition that shall be made to so necessary a Proposition ; and to take Notice of the Persons, and Places which send any of them, as such as are still so leavened with Faction, that they do not discern that the great Heats and Animosities which have long disturbed this Nation, were principally occasioned and heightened to serve the Interest of the Papists, or a mischievous Faction. And since this Parliament was chosen before the Act of Pardon was pass'd, and the Elections and Returns in many Corporations, (where were many Criminals,) were made with great Heat and Faction by such as were concerned to save themselves, and all the Interest they could make, (as appears in the many Petitions before the Committee of Elections) if this Parliament will not agree upon what is necessary for the Common Good, it may prove a good Expedient to dissolve them and call another Speedily, which probably may be chosen more fairly and indifferently. And thus much I thought fit to add to what I had mention'd before on the same Subjects, because they are matters of so great Concern.

And now as to *the special Qualifications* of the Persons to be employed ; this poor Nation hath been long in a very pitiful Condition in this respect, while this, which ought principally to be regarded, hath apparently been least and last of all sought after : King *Charles* heartily favouring very few, who would not either comply with him in his voluptuous Courses and Luxury, or serve him either in his Illegal Projects and Designs, or in abusing the Nation out of their Money ; and King *James* as few, who would not one way or other serve the Interest of Popery : And while these Princes studyed only to serve themselves and their own Humours, it is no wonder if they were served but by few who did not the like, that is, more regarded their

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own private Gain and Advancement, than the common Good of their Countrey. And though we have now a Prince of a quite different Temper, who industriously and vigorously prosecutes the Publick Good not only of these Kingdoms, but of his Neighbours and Confederates also, yet is he plainly under some difficulties by reason of the Persons he found in Employments, and whose Qualifications he could not so well know 'till he had some tryal and experience of them : And therefore both the People of this Nation, and our Confederates have great reason to bear patiently our Disappointments hitherto, in great hopes to see things in a better posture another Year.

But though this Experience may satisfie him of the Fidelity and good Qualifications of many, and of the Unfitness of others to be employed or trusted, yet will he stand in need of good Advice and Information concerning others to supply their Places ; and the more by reason of the great Corruption of the Manners of this People by the last two Reigns, which hath tainted them (to say nothing here of other Immoralities) with Unfaithfulness, Greediness of Gain, and narrow-soul'd Selfishness, under superficial Appearances and plausible Pretences, contrary to the true *English* Genius, which is plain, honest, and trusty, and stout, hardy and industrious for the good of their Countrey. And it is, I doubt, too true, that those who were nearest in Degree or Employment to the Fountain of that Corruption, have been most infected by it : So that two things seem very necessary for the King, in this respect especially, and in his Case, as they are indeed always for all Princes, who undertake great Enterprizes : The one to have the best *Information* he can ; the other to use his own *Liberty* without confinement in the *Choice* of the fittest Persons for his Service. These are both for his own Interest ; and being no less for the Interest of the Nation, they are also his Duty ; so that no Man who is a Friend either to him or his Countrey can be against it : And if due Care be taken but

to put the Navy and the Militia into good hands, I am well satisfied that he hath the great Body of the People so entire for him, that he may very well despite all such Bugbear pretences of the Power of any Persons or Parties, as some have suggested and published in Print. Nay, and this which I say (provided he make no Encroachment upon their Rights, and make but that Inspection into Accounts, that they may see they are not unnecessarily burden'd with Taxes, and keep the Sea clear, and an open and free Trade) will certainly more and more affect and unite the Hearts of all the People to him.

There are two things by which crafty Courtiers use to impose upon Princes, (which in like manner are commonly practised by unfaithful Servants with their Masters of lower degree) and thereby greatly abuse both them and their People for their own advantage. One is to divert them from too narrowly inspecting Accounts and other Matters of State, by perswading them that it is below them to trouble themselves much with such matters. Another is, to keep them as much as may be from that Intelligence and Information of Affairs, which they might have in a free and enlarg'd compass of Conversation, by perswading them that it is below their Majesty to converse much with any below their Nobility. But as no honest men will ever use or need such Arts, so never was any Prince Great and Generous that would, or truly wise that could be so impos'd upon. *True Majesty* is a Composition of Rightful Power, real Magnanimity of Mind in himself, and great Love and Esteem in the Hearts of a People, grounded upon Intrinsic Worth and continual Communication thereof in studying and industriously promoting the common Good and Welfare of a Nation. Without this State and Grandeur, Guards and Ceremonies, and the External Ensigns of Majesty ; though they serve a little to awe and move admiration in rude and barbarous People, yet among more intelligent People, such as are a great part of these Nations, they

they rather move indignation and disdain, and serve but to alienate their minds the more from them who unworthily use them. And indeed for any Man much to regard them and pride himself in them, is a plain indication of a low and narrow Soul, ignorant of the true valuation of things. For all the *Pride* of Man is a lye, and the Product of Ignorance and Folly ; whereas the Truth and a right Understanding of the Worth and Use of things, cannot but produce at once those noble Twins, the genuine Christian *Humility* and true *Magnanimity*, with Contempt of those mean things which the vulgar and little-great Men of the World admire. And besides by Affability and a more free Conversation a Prince engageth the Hearts of all ; hath a more free and unconfin'd Intelligence and Information of things ; hath the greater awe upon such as are apt to impose upon him ; hath an advantage to meet with better Instruments for his Service, than are like to be recommended by the heads of any narrow Faction ; and by the Choice of such as are best deserving amongst all, raiseth an Emulation in others to qualifie themselves better for the Service of himself and their Countrey : Whereas he who expects any great matter from these External Ensigns of Majesty, without the Substance, will find it amount to no more in conclusion than the admiration of the most rude and inconsiderable part of the People, and that only while his Grandeur continues in its height, without any considerable Diminution or Concussion.

But, here I must put all such as have access to their Prince in mind of a great Duty both to him and to their Countrey ; that is, that laying aside all Self-respect they conceal nothing from him which they think necessary for him to know, and comes properly in their way to acquaint him with, though there may be some Danger, that thereby they may incur the Displeasure of some great Courtier or Party. Every one will pretend that he is willing to venture his Life and his Estate for his King and his Countrey.

trety, which is an indication that most Men have a sense that it is their Duty so to do, as it is indeed : And were those who pretend to that but honest and sincere therein, there would not need many words to perswade them to the conscientious Discharge of this great Duty I am now speaking of. For it is plainly a part of that Natural Fidelity and Allegiance which we all owe to our King and our Countrey ; and which all who have taken the Oath of Fidelity are doubly oblig'd to perform. And the neglect of it for fear of the displeasure of any great Person or Party, is not only a piece of Baseness and Cowardice but of Unfaithfulness to their King and Countrey ; and, which is more than all this, even to God himself : It not only gives the Lye to their pretences of Loyalty, but it is fearing the Faces of Men more than God himself ; and Distrusting his Protection in their doing their Duty, to which his Providence hath lead them.

What I here recommend to others, I have hitherto in all Sincerity and Integrity practis'd my self ; and being well satisfied that I was lead thereunto by the special Providence of God, this very Consideration of Fidelity hath been a great Motive to me to do as I have done : And therefore that with the same Fidelity and Integrity which I have used all along, I may bring these things, which I have been discoursing, to the point in hand, I must say plainly, that as our Fleets have been this Year baffled beyond the skill of any Vindicator to cover ; so it is as plain, that the Fault was not in *our Mariners or Seamen* : For, to do them Right and Justice in this case, it is believed this Nation was never better provided with able Seamen ; and it is certain, there is no part of the Nation more honest and firm for the Protestant Religion, the Prosperity and Honour of their Countrey, and the present Government : And those who were at Sea, were as ready and zealous to have shewed so much in action, had they been permitted by their Officers. But though we be also as well furnish'd

furnish'd with able Captains, (for the *Engliſh* Genius, and ſuch a Trade as we have, doth naturally produce a continual ſtore of ſuch) yet were our Men of War generally filled with ſuch Captains and Officers, as few Merchants would intruſt with a Ship of Two hundred Tun. And I find it the common Opinion of moſt Seamen and Merchants I have diſcourſ'd with (and I have diſcourſ'd with many on purpoſe) that there are but few amongſt them that are any way qualified for that Service. And as this doth neceſſarily lead us to reflect upon the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, and our Miniſters of State; ſo for ought I can perceive, it is the general Opinion of our Merchants and Seamen, that the Commiſſioners themſelves (be they who they will, for I know none of them) are as ill qualified for their undertaking, as the Officers they employ; and that not only in reſpect of ſkill and ability, but it would tempt one to think in reſpect of Fidelity alſo, if that be true, which is much talk'd on, that there have bin *Liſts offer'd* to them of very able Seamen for Captains and Officers, who were very ready to have ſerved their King and Countrey, and the Common Cauſe, (though wanting not Employment or Eſtates they would neither purchaſe nor petition for any ſuch) yet were all neglected: That Commiſſions indeed have been offer'd to ſome, but ſo far beneath their Quality, that it may be thought rather a Trick to affront them, and make them reſuſe, and then pretend they would not ſerve, than any honeſt intention to employ them: That, others who have been encouraged to raiſe men; when they had raiſed them and brought them up at no little charge, have themſelves and their men been turned off without any ſatisfaction. Certain it is, that this poor Nation hath been long devour'd and made a Prey of by a Company of greedy Vermin, who have intruded into Offices without any ſenſe of the Service of the Publick, but meerly for their private advantage; and have uſed them accordingly: and while

while we see the same evil Genius as busie as ever, and such Disappointments, this is sufficient ground of suspicion. And therefore since such things are talked on, it is fit they should be look'd into: that if upon an honest Inquiry they be found to be true, they may be duly punish'd and redress'd for the future; and if not true, that the minds of the People may be satisfi'd upon good and solid grounds.

As for the *Punishment of what is past*, it may be fit to look back into the Behaviour of some of our Gentlemen the former Summer, and particularly among the rest that at *Baintree-bay*, which I find our Sea-men think not to have been such as it ought. But for the Business of this Summer, besides the Consideration of Justice and Prudence in other respects, the Eyes not only of all the Nation, but of all the World, are upon the King, to see how he will take it; so that he cannot in honour either neglect it, or suffer it to be palliated, and himself abused with such Pretences as will not pass with Men of Understanding in the World. A Defeat in his Prosecution of this Matter might prove as dishonourable to him, and almost as pernicious to his Interest, as the Disappointment at Sea. And he hath the more reason to look to it, because it is suspected that other Matters have been so carried as might not be for his Honour or Interest, by false People about him.

And for the *Redress* of these Matters *for the future*, to say nothing of the great Importance of it to the Nation, and to all his Confederates; and how greatly he is oblig'd both by God and Man, to take a special Care of it, certainly he can take no better Method than that which I have already mention'd; laying aside Ceremony and Complement, to send for some of the most intelligent Merchants, that are intire and hearty for him; and some of the most experienc'd and considerable Sea-Captains and Commanders, who have been bred up in that Employment, and not corrupted in the late Reigns, and discourse freely with them alone, and encourage them to be free to speak their Opinions and Knowledge.

ledge. By this means he himself may come to a true understanding both of Matters and Persons, and be able to make a better Choice than hath yet been, or is like to be made for him by others. And would he please to resolve in time, to give Commissions to none but such as by their own Interest among the Seamen were able to bring in most Men without Pressing, and to all such, we should see matters soon well amended. This Nation at this time, notwithstanding all the wicked Arts which have been used to corrupt and debase it, doth not want Men fit for Great Actions, if proper Methods were used to invite them to it: But the Courses which have been used of late, have been so well fitted to attract only the Scum and Froth of the Nation, that they may reasonably be thought to have been introduced and promoted by such as had no great kindness for it.

What I have thus plainly and honestly discours'd, I doubt not but will be approv'd by God, and all wise and honest Men in the World; and may be of great use to the King, and to the Church, as well as to the whole Nation; if they please to make a good use of it; to begin speedily, and in good earnest lay such a good Foundation, as is recommended in it; cast out those cursed Abominations, those notorious Examples of Wickedness and Impiety, out of great Places, and provide some effectual Means for the Reformation of the Manners of the rest: Otherwise I doubt it may seal up some heavier Judgment than we have yet felt; in respect of which all our Disappointments hitherto both at Sea and Land may prove but so many warnings. But as I wish, so I hope better things.

I Intended for the Service of those honest Persons I mention'd before, *Page 45.* to have added that, which I hope might have extricated most of them out of those Toys of Prejudice concerning the *English* Constitution and Government, which have intangled the Consciences of many honest

honest Men both formerly, and especially since the late Revolution; and to have shewed the Original Infusion of that latent Poyson which hath for a full Age and more intoxicated the Heads of many otherwise learned and honest Men in our Church and Universities: But I am forced for want of leisure to reserve that for an *APPENDIX*, or a separate Treatise.

A Letter

A
 PREPARATION for DEATH,
 Recommended in
 A LETTER to a MALEFACTOR;
 But Useful for all sorts of People.

Sept. 7. 1690.

Mr. L

I Had really a kindness for you, because I had good hopes of you, that you might become a good Man, if it pleased God to prolong your Life; and therefore have done already what I can for you, and shall be ready to do more, if it please God to give any opportunity. But because I find your Case very dangerous in that respect, considering what hath been sworn against you, and that this is not the first Fault, and there being great Complaints to the Privy Council of the frequent Crimes that are committed of that kind; insomuch that the Judge, who is a very good Man, and as tender of the Life of a Man, as is consistent with his Duty, cannot shew you that Favour that otherwise he would, the greatest Kindness that I can do you, is, to instruct you how to improve your present Circumstances, which if you accordingly do, it will be ten thousand times better than Life it self. You must therefore know that *the Great Business and End of our mortal Life* in the Flesh is to work the Creature by various Exercises to an entire Subjection to the Great Glorious and most Excellent Creator; who

is the Father of Spirits, and hath not only a just and absolute Right and Dominion over us by Creation, Sustainment and Redemption, but is in himself of so transcendent Excellence, and so unconceivably Good and Gracious to his poor despicable Creatures (whereof the Love of Parents to their Children is but a little Representation) that even Prudence and Gratitude, if it was well considered, would effectually prevail with a Man of Sense to seek his Favour, though by the most Absolute Subjection that can be conceived, were we not obliged to it by his Absolute Dominion, and subject to his Irresistible Power. And so that this entire Subjection be but effectually wrought in us, it matters not whether our Life be long or short : Be it never so short, if the Work be but perfectly done, it is the same thing as if it was longer ; nay, in some respects better ; for then it is secure ; whereas till then it is in danger ; only we are in the Hands of a Faithful Creator, and have continual Occasion of Exercise of our Dependence upon him. Now to come to *your particular Case* : It seems you have ran a Course directly contrary ; instead of exercising your self to this Subjection, you perhaps have never in your Life been sensible of any such Work you had to do ; and not only not done any thing toward it, but done the quite contrary ; instead of subjecting your Sensual Appetites to your Reason (which is the first part of this Exercise, and what all Mankind must account for) you have subjected the Man to the Beast in you, and abused your natural Faculties and Powers to serve and satisfy your Animal Affections ; and instead of subjecting your Will to the Holy and Righteous External Declarations of the Will of God ; you have yielded to the secret Motions of the Apostate Spirits in your Animal Affections in Disobedience and Rebellion against that Holy Will of God. And by this means instead of promoting the great Business of your Life, you have run your self into a worse condition than when you were born and first began to live ; so that thus much of your Life is not only lost, but mis-spent to your own Damage. And now to recover all again, and perfect this great Work, for which you had a longer Life assign'd you, in so short a time as is now allowed you, you may think very hard

hard, if not impossible. But be of good comfort: Where Sin hath abounded, Grace hath much more abounded. God is able to do greater matters than this, if he be graciously so pleased, in less time; but then you must seek to him, and do what you can to prepare your self for his Grace, and to be ready to cooperate with it faithfully. To this end you must endeavour to banish all thoughts of this World, and even of your Temporal Life it self, and enter into serious Consideration of the Great and Glorious Majesty of God, who by his Wisdom and Power hath Created and Governs the whole Universe, whereof the whole Earth in respect of the rest is but as a drop of a Bucket, and in respect of him as nothing; and then consider with your self, what a despicable thing you are in comparison of the Earth and all its Inhabitants, which yet altogether is so little as I have said in respect of Almighty God; so despicable, if you were innocent and righteous; and therefore that you should be so infatuated as to dare to transgress the least of his Commands, doth justly deserve not only Temporal Death, and to be cut off from the Children of Men, to whom you have been an Enemy, and Confederated with the Enemies of their Peace and Quiet, but Eternal Damnation, and to be for ever separated from his Glorious Presence, against whom you have rebelled, and to have your part with those Apostate Spirits, whose Motions you have obeyed, in eternal Misery. And never cease musing and considering these great and plain Truths, and lifting up your Heart to God with fervent Desires and Prayers, that he will condescend to give you Grace, to enlighten your Mind, and mollifie your Heart with a deep Sense of your miserable Condition, till you find your self so affected and concerned for the Favour of God and the Salvation of your Soul, that all Concern and Thought for your Temporal Life, as an inconsiderable thing in respect of that, may wholly cease; and that your Soul be mightily humbled with a deep Sense of your utter unworthiness, that that Great and Glorious and most Holy Majesty should have any regard to so despicable and so sinful a Wretch, with great Indignation against your Sin and Madnes, and against those cursed Apostate Spirits, which by their se-

eret Impressions have pressed you on into all this Wickedness and Mischief. When you have gotten thus far, those wicked Spirits, when they find they can no longer keep you in Darkness and Impenitence, will strive to thrust you headlong into Despair, and possess you with dreadful Apprehensions of the Holiness, Justice, and Severity of God. And therefore you must further know, that this Great and Glorious Majesty, though most Holy, Righteous and Terrible to the Impenitent and Incorrigible, yet is of unconceivable Mercy, Clemency and Goodness to truly humble and penitent Sinners: And though he be a God of such Holiness and Purity that there is no immediate Access to him for such despicable and polluted Creatures as the Children of Men, yet hath he in his great Mercy and Wisdom provided a most admirable Expedient, whereby we may have access to him at all times with Confidence and Assurance of Acceptance; and not only Pardon of Sin, but Grace also, and Divine Power to serve him acceptably. And this is by Christ Jesus, God and Man united in one Person, who having run the same Race and Exercise of Subjection by Obedience even to Death, and the most shameful Death, the Death of the Cross, and thereby obtained Favour for us with the Father, him hath God exalted to be Judge both of Quick and Dead, and to be a Prince and a Saviour to all that obey him, and are united to him by his Spirit residing and ruling in their Hearts. Him hath God proposed to be a Propitiation for us by his Passion and Death, and raised up to be a Mediator and an Advocate for us with him in Heaven; and by him, and in his Name, all who are Seal'd with, and Partakers of his Spirit, have Access and certain Acceptance with the Father. But that you may be one of these, here is again, as before, something to be done by you. You must ruminate much upon the admirable Clemency and Goodness of God to his poor Creatures, for the recovery of them out of a most miserable Slavery to the Powers of Darkness; and how admirable a Person this Christ Jesus is, who having performed a perfect Obedience to the Father in our Nature, and by his Passion consecrated it, and exalted it to Heaven to be there as a Magnet to attract all who receive him, and give

give up themselves to obey him: And how great a new Obligation this is upon us to do so: How great and admirable the Benefit and Advantage is to our selves: And therefore how much common Prudence and Gratitude should prevail with you for that purpose. And never cease musing and thinking thereupon; and lifting up your Heart to God in earnest Desires and Prayers in the Name of Christ Jesus, and for his Sake, that he will be pleased to enlighten your Mind with a clear understanding of these admirable Truths, and fill your Heart with such Love and Admiration of his Goodness so demonstrated in this admirable Person, that all things in this World, your Temporal Life in the Flesh, and all that you are or have, may appear to you, as in truth they are, very mean and despicable, and nothing valuable and desirable but Christ Jesus, and an inseparable Union with him; till you find your Heart so affected with these things, that you become intirely resigned in all things to the Will of God, be willing and even desirous to be Partaker of the Sufferings of that Holy and Innocent Person, which you have justly deserved, and with full purpose of Heart give up your self to an entire Subjection, Obedience and Service of the Holy Trinity, to whom you have been dedicated in your Baptism, to all Eternity. This is a great Work indeed; but God is able to do this, and more than we can ask or think, in less time than you have to prepare for it: And if he will be so gracious to you, you will be a happy Creature, and have reason to admire and bless his Holy Providence, and abundant Grace, which by so admirable Means hath brought you to it; and then you will have nothing more to do, but to perform some other Works of true Repentance, which I shall presently shew you, and wait upon God and stand ready for what-ever he shall call you to. These remaining Works of Repentance respect either the particular Persons you have wronged, or the State and your Country in general. To the particular Persons you must make Restitution as far as you are able, pray to God to make up what is wanting by his Grace and Blessing to them, and send to them and desire their Pardon; and heartily forgive all who have injured you, acknowledging them, what-ever they intended,

to have been God's Instruments for your just Punishment and Correction, and pray heartily to God to pardon them. And to the State and your Country you must do what you can to make Satisfaction and Restitution by these means: You must do what you can to break those wicked Combinations, Confederations and Practices, by making all the Discovery you can both of Robberies and such like Practices, and of the Persons who either use such Practices, or harbor, or are any way Partners with them therein. Only thus much I shall advise you, that you do it in Charity, not only to your Country, but even to the Malefactors themselves, so as that they may be reclaimed if possible; and therefore do it not to any one, but to such as you think most like to use your Discoveries wisely and charitably, with due care and respect even to them. And if you desire my Assistance therein, I will endeavour to come to you on purpose, rather than you shall want Assistance. I have no more now but my Prayers for you to Almighty God, that he will bless these Instructions, make them effectual upon you, and by his powerful Grace perfect this great and good Work in your Soul.

P O S T S C R I P T.

IT is a *common Opinion among Malefactors*, that it is a *dishonourable* thing, and therefore odious and detestable, to *discover*, (which they call *betraying*) *their Companions or Partners in their Crimes*. But this is plainly a mere vulgar Error, and a gross Mistake, and no less pernicious to themselves, and to their Partners, than to their Country, and Mankind in General. The *Fallacy* lies in the Misapplication of a true Principle. For the true reason why Breach of Faith and Betraying of Trust is so odious a thing among all Men, is, because it is not only injurious to the Person, but tends to the disturbance of Humane Society: So that if it was generally practis'd, Men would not know how to deal one with another, and would be deprived of mutual Assistance in many cases, and of one of the greatest Comforts of Humane Life. But yet, as in many other Cases, that which in the General is unlawful, dishonourable and odious, (as the taking away the Life of a Man) may in a particular case, under some certain Circumstances, become a necessary and commendable Duty, (as the Condemnation and Execution of a Murderer, which is an Act both of Justice upon the Malefactor, and of Charity to the rest of Mankind, by preventing and discouraging other Murders) so it is in this: To

discover a Secret committed to ones Trust, which may lawfully be concealed; but especially, to do it for ones own advantage, and to the prejudice of his Confident, is commonly reputed, and very justly, a very base, unmanly, dishonest and dishonourable thing. But when the Secret or Confidence is in a thing wicked and unjust, injurious to other Persons, and to the Society whereof a Man is a Member, as, to his Country; this is no such Secret as can honestly be concealed; because it is a Breach of Charity to the injured Persons, and a Violation of that Faith, which, by an antecedent and greater Obligation, is due to the whole Society, whereof he is a Member. Such mutual Confidences therefore are not properly Human Societies, but a kind of Confederacies of Enemies and Disturbers of the proper Society, Peace and Welfare of Men, tending to the Destruction thereof. And the Hypothesis upon which they are built is for the same reason plainly a Delusion, and probably a Stratagem of the Apostate Spirits and Enemies of Mankind, to strengthen their Party and Interest among Men; so that as on the one hand this is no such Trust, as it is dishonourable to any Person to break it, because it is a wicked thing to engage in it; so on the other hand it is a Breach of Faith and Duty to the Society not to break but conceal it, and thereby support a Confederacy of Enemies and Disturbers of the Peace of his Country; so that the Person, who, conceals what he knows of that nature, becomes accessory, even after his Death, to all the Evils which are afterward committed, and might have been prevented by his Discovery. Besides an obstinate and wilful Concealment even to the Death, is not only a Confirmation of that particular wicked Confederacy wherein the Person is engaged, or any way concerned or acquainted, but tends mightily to harden others, and so to support all such wicked Confederacies in general. Whereas did such Persons, at least when apprehended, in their Affliction become serious, and not suffer themselves to be longer abused and imposed upon by such a vulgar Error and Diabolical Delusion, but consider well, judge rightly, and act accordingly, such wicked Confederacies could not subsist for want of mutual Confidence. Nor is such Concealment only injurious to divers other particular Persons, and a Violation of that Faith and Love, which all Men owe to their Country; but very pernicious, and of evil consequence to the Partners, and all other such Criminals; because it encourageth them to venture upon and persist in such Courses as involve them more and more in Sin, whereby they treasure up Wrath against the Day of Wrath; and expose them to all those temporal Evils, which usually first or last over-take them. Whereas by such a Discovery, as I have recommended, the Persons discovered might possibly be reclaimed and brought to Repentance, at least might be hindered from so much increasing their Score, which were better for them, though by an unnatural and otherwise untimely Death, than

that they should longer protract a miserable Life here to the increase of their Misery hereafter. Nor is it less *pernicious to the Malefactor himself*. For as without true Repentance no Pardon can be expected with God : So whoever doth not all he can to make Restitution, and repair all the Evil and Damage he hath done, and to prevent all he can for the future, can be no true Penitent, holding still an implicit Confederacy at least, with wickedness. And as he can expect no Favour from God, so is he to be looked upon by Men, not as a Man of Honor in any respect, but as a reprobate, deluded, and hardened Wretch, an Enemy to Man-kind, and a Confederate with Death and Hell, and the Kingdom of Darkness ; an odious and detestable Creature, instead of being in the least honourable as he vainly fancied. That, which only is Honourable or Commendable in such Case, and the only true Wisdom, is, 1. To consider seriously the unreasonableness and wickedness of the Crime, till such consideration hath produced a just Indignation and Abhorrence of it. 2. To acknowledge ingenuously his own Folly and Impotence to yield to and be overcome by such a Temptation, what-ever it was, which induced him to it ; and not rather more manly to have born any hardships of a transitory human Life, than so basely to have violated the Order of the Divine Providence, which assigned those hardships for his Exercise, and the Laws of his Country. 3. To give Glory to God, acknowledging the Justice of his Punishment, and the special Providence of God, who hath brought him to it not only in Justice, but in Mercy too, to cut off his Sin, for Correction of his Miscalriages, and that he may not be condemned with the World, if he truly and effectually repent, as is before directed. 4. To endeavour, as far as possible he can, to break all such Confederacies, and prevent all the Mischief which might otherwise be committed by a plain Discovery of all he knoweth. This indeed would be an Evidence of such a Change and Disposition of Mind, as is really valuable in the Judgment of all Good and Wise Men, and acceptable in the sight of Almighty God, and therefore truly Honourable with others, and the truest wisdom for himself.

What I have here said to Criminals is fit to be considered by all who have any knowledge of any such Crimes. That which they may fancy to be Faithfulness, or Charity, or Pity to Criminals, is a great Mistake and Delusion, and in truth Unfaithfulness and want of due regard to their Country. That Malefactors be brought to condign Punishment both Justice and Charity to our Country require ; which is to be preferred before the Consideration of any particular Person : And therefore to hinder, or refuse ones Assistance to it, is to prefer a Malefactor, and desert the Duty he owes his Country. But in other respects Charity and Humanity requires more to be done for them, than usually is with us.

A N
A C T
F O R

The more effectual Restraining and Suppressing of
divers notorious Sins, and Reformation of the Manners
of the People of this Nation.

W Hereas the Advancement of the Honour and Service of Almighty God, and of the Protestant Religion, which by his wonderful Providence hath been Established and Preserved in these Nations, ought at all times to be the Chief Part of the Care as well of the Legislative as Executive Power of this Kingdom; but more especially at this time, after so admirable a Deliverance from so great and apparent Danger as lately threatned us: And for that End a General Reformation of the Lives and Manners of all degrees of People of this Nation, is earnestly desired by all good men, and by all Means to be endeavoured, as that which must Establish both the Church and State, and secure to all their Religion, Happiness and Peace: All which seem to be in great Danger at this time, by reason of the Overflowing of Vice, which is too notorious in this as well as other neighbouring Nations, and more particularly the Sins of Blasphemy, Prophane Swearing and Cursing, Perjury, Prophanation of the Lords Day, Adultery, Fornication, and Drunkennells.

Therefore for the better carrying on of so good a Work, and for the more effectual preventing, correcting and suppressing of the Horrid and Hellish sins of BLASPHEMIE and prophane Swearing and Cursing: Be it Enacted by the King and Queens Majesty, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That if any Person not disturbed in Brain by Sickness or otherwise, shall at any time hereafter presume in word or writing to Blaspheme, or speak or write contemptuously or scoffingly of God blessed for ever, his Providence, our Blessed Lord and Saviour Christ Jesus, the Holy Spirit, the Sa-

cred Scriptures, the Christian Religion, or any of them, the Person and persons in whose presence or hearing such Offence shall be committed, shall and are hereby required presently to set down the Words expressing the said Offence, or so much thereof as he or they can remember, and the manner thereof, in writing; and to give notice and testifie his and their Knowledge thereof upon Oath within the space of ten dayes, unto some Justice of the Peace of the County or Place where the same shall be committed, who is hereby authorized and required to administer the said Oath, and to take the Information of the said persons in writing. And every Justice of the Peace, who shall have any knowledge of any such Offence committed, either by his own hearing or view, or by any such Testimony, or by Confession of the Party, is hereby authorized and required to cause the said Offender to become bound to appear and answer for the same at the next general Gaol-delivery or Oyer and Terminer to be holden for that County, and to be of Good Behaviour in in the mean time. And likewise to cause the said Witness and witnesses to be bound over to prosecute and give Evidence against the said Offender, who at the said next Gaol-delivery or Oyer and Terminer if it may be, or otherwise as soon as may be, shall be Indicted for his said Offence, and upon the Tryall being found Guilty, shall forfeit the sum of one moiety thereof to the King and Queen, their Heirs and Successors, and the other moiety thereof to the Prosecutor, and shall by the Judge, before whom such Tryal shall be had, be committed to the Gaol, there to remain till he or she shall have paid the said sum, and shall become bound with two good Sureties to the Good Behaviour for the space of seven years then next ensuing, in case it be the Parties first Offence of that kind: but if it be the second Offence of which he is so convicted, then to be of the Good Behaviour during Life. And if it be a third Offence and Conviction, then the Offendor shall be committed to the Gaol, there to remain till he or she shall abjure the Realm.

And be it likewise enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That all and every Person and Persons who shall hereafter offend by **PROPHANE SWEARING or CURSING**, shall forfeit and pay for every such Offence to the use of the Poor of the Parish where the same shall be committed, or if it be out of any Parish, to the use of the Poor of such next adjoining Parish as the Justice or Justices hereafter mentioned shall appoint, according to the Degree, and Quality of the Person offending, in Manner and Form following, that is to say, every Peer and Baron of this Realm, or other the Kings Dominions residing here, and every Person holding and enjoying any Barony, the summ of twenty shillings, every Baronet and Knight the summ of thirteen shillings and four pence, every Esquire, and every Person having and enjoying any Office, Place, Dignity, Promotion, or Employment, Ecclesiastical or Civil, of the value of one hundred pounds per Annum, or more, the summ of Ten shillings, and every Gentleman and Person

son in Holy Orders, every Graduate in either University, and every Person having and enjoying any Office, Place, Dignity, Promotion, or Employment, Ecclesiastical or Civil, under one hundred pounds per annum, the sum of six shillings and eight pence; and every person keeping any Publick House of Entertainment, and every other Person under the degree of a Gentleman, (except Labourers and poor people) the sum of five shillings, and every Labourer and other poor person, the sum of two shillings and six-pence; and every married Woman or Widow, according to the Degree and Quality of her present or last Husband, and in case she was never Married, according to the degree and quality of a younger Son of her Father. All which summs and forfeitures all and every person and persons in whose presence or hearing any such Offence shall be committed, are hereby Authorized and required to demand for the use of the Poor of the said Parish, and in case the same shall be paid, to pay it over immediately to the Overseers of the Poor for the use aforesaid. And in case the person so offending shall upon such demand refuse to pay the sum by him so forfeited, then the said persons in whose presence or hearing the said Offence shall be committed, shall, and are hereby required presently thereupon to put the words expressing the Offence into Writing, under his and their Hands, and to give notice of the said Offence, demand and refusal, and to testify his or their knowledge thereof upon Oath within the space of ten dayes unto some Justice of the Peace, of the County or Place where the same Offence shall be committed, who is hereby authorized and required to administer the said Oath, and thereupon (unless the Offender be a Peer, or such other great Man of this Realm, as in this Act hereafter is mentioned) to direct and send his Warrant to the Constable, Tythingman, Church-Wardens and Overseers of the poor of such Parish as aforesaid, or of the Parish where the Offender shall inhabit, thereby commanding them or some one or more of them to levy the summs and summs so forfeited for the use of the poor of such parish as aforesaid, and likewise the like sum to be paid to such Witness and Witnesses, for his and their time, travel and pains employed about any such Information, by distress and sale of the Goods of such Offender, rendering unto him or her the overplus: And in case no such Distress can be had, to apprehend the said Offender, and him or her to bring before the said Justice or some other Justice of the Peace of the said County or place, who is hereby required to commit the said Offender to the common Gaol, there to remain until the said Offender shall have paid the several summs aforesaid, and full Costs and Charges to be taxed by the said Justice for Apprehending and Conveying of such Offenders to the Gaol, if it be the first Conviction for such Offence: But if the said Offender shall have been before convicted as aforesaid of the like Offence and obstinate Refusal, then to remain there until the said Offender shall moreover become bound before the Justices of the Peace at their General Quarter Sessions, or the Judge of Assize, General Gaol Delivery, or Oyer

and Terminer, to be of the Good Behaviour for the space of ^{then} next ensuing. But in case it shall appear to the said Justice, by Confession of the party, or otherwise, that the Offendor so convicted is not able to pay the said several summs, then the said Offendor shall be set in the Stocks for three whole hours for his first Offence, and shall be so set in the Stocks, and moreover be publicly whip'd, not exceeding ten lashes for the second, and every other Offence afterward.

And because it is found by common Experience, that Excess in Drinking doth, besides other inconveniences, very much dispose people to profane Swearing; and that such Excesses are usually promoted by **DRINKING HEALTHS**: Be it therefore enacted by the Authority aforesaid, that every person who shall begin or pledge any Health, shall forfeit and pay as is before enacted for profane Swearing, to be levied in like manner, and for the same Uses; and all persons present required to demand the forfeiture, and give Information of the Refusal, if any be, as in the said Case is appointed, and the Justice thereupon to proceed accordingly.

Provided, and it is hereby further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That if any Peer of the Realm, Prelate, or other person expressed in the Statute of 2 Ri. 2. entitled, The Penalty for telling of slanderous Lyes of the great Men of the Realm, or any Baron of the Exchequer, upon committing any such Offence of Profane Swearing or Cursing, as aforesaid, shall refuse to pay the Penalty thereby forfeited, being demanded as aforesaid, the Justice of the Peace before whom such Information shall be given, shall cause a Copy of the said Information to be delivered to the said Offendor, his Lady or Steward, and shall bind over the Witness and Witnesses to prosecute and give Evidence of the said Offence, Demand and Refusal at the next Gaol-Delivery, or Oyer and Terminer to be holden for the County, or Division. Where such Offendor having notice as aforesaid, shall be obliged to appear and Travers his Enditment. And in case he shall not appear, or upon his Appearance and Travers shall be found Guilty, he shall incur the several Disabilities hereafter mentioned, and forfeit the sum of twenty pounds, one moiety to the King and Queen, and the other to the Prosecutor or Prosecutors.

And because it may be feared that Perjury is often committed in this Nation by the Neglect of Officers and persons sworn to the due performance of their Offices, Places, and Employments, or Duties: Be it therefore Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, for the preventing the like for the future, that every wilful neglect after the 24th. day of June next, of any Officer or other person, duly sworn to the performance of any Office, Place, Employment, or Duty, in the due performance thereof, shall be deemed and adjudged Perjury, and be prosecuted and punished as other Perjury by the Law of this Land.

And for the more effectual Execution of the Statutes heretofore made for the

the Reformation of sundry Abuses, and better Observation of the **LORDS DAY**, commonly called Sunday, be it likewise Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That all and every Constable, Tythingman, Headborough, Church-Warden, and Overseer of the poor, and other Officers in their respective Parishes, may and are hereby authorized and required upon notice of any Offence contrary to the said Statutes, or either of them, immediately to repair to the place where any such Offence is said to be committed, and upon their own view thereof, without any Warrant from any Justice of Peace to seize all such Goods as they shall at any time find exposed to sale, contrary to the said Statutes or either of them, and to dispose thereof as by the said Statutes, or either of them is directed; and likewise to stop, apprehend, and secure all persons offending against the said Statutes, or either of them, and them to carry before some Justice of the Peace, to be dealt with according to the Law, unless the said Offendor and Offenders shall forthwith pay the penalty forfeited by the said Statutes to such Officer or Officers.

3 Car. 1. c. 2

29 Car. 2. c

7.

And for suppressing of the brutish Sins of **ADULTERY** and **FORNICATION**, Be it also enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That if any Man after the tenth day of June, in this present year of our Lord, 1690. shall have the carnal knowledge of the Body of any Woman other than his Wife, (except in the case of a Rape,) or shall be found in Bed, or in any such posture of Nakedness, with any other Woman than his Wife, from which it may be reasonably presum'd that any such Act of carnal Copulation was committed by the said parties; either of the said parties being at the same time in the State of lawful Matrimony with any other person not absent beyond the Seas, or otherwise unknown to the said party to be living, by the space of seven years, the same shall be taken, reputed, and adjudged lawful and sufficient Evidence of **ADULTERY**, and the said parties being thereof convicted by Verdict upon Indictment or presentment before any Judge or Justices of Gaol Delivery, or Oyer and Terminer, shall suffer Death as in case of Felony, without benefit of Clergy: But if neither of the said parties be at the same time in such State of Matrimony, the same shall be taken, reputed, and adjudged lawful and sufficient Evidence of Fornication only, for which being thereof convicted as aforesaid, each of the said parties shall for every such Offence be committed to the common Gaol without Bail or Mainprize, there to continue for the space of and further until he or she respectively shall give Security, to be taken by one or more Justice or Justices of the Peace of the said County or place, to be of the Good Behaviour for the space of Year then next ensuing, if it be the first Offence, but if the second for the space of Years, and if the third during life.

Provided that no Attainder by vertue hereof shall extend to Corruption of

of Blood, or forfeiture of the Estate real or Personal of the person so attainted.

And for the better preventing of the said Sins for the time to come, be it Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That the Constable, or Tythingman, and the Church-Wardens of every parish for the time being, shall once every Month at least, or oftener if they see cause, make diligent enquiry throughout their respective Parishes, to discover all persons who shall prostitute themselves as common Strumpets, and shall certifie the Names, or reputed Names, and the places of abode of all such persons as they shall find either by Information of Neighbours, or other probable circumstances to be suspicious in that respect, unto some Justice of the Peace residing in or near their respective Parishes, who upon receipt of such Certificate, shall direct his Warrant to the Constable or Officer of the Parish where any such suspected person shall be found, to bring before him all or any such suspected person or persons: And shall examine her or them, and such Witnesses as shall appear in their behalf, concerning their way and course of livelihood. And that all such persons so suspected, and not being able to give a good account of themselves, shall be punished as Vagabonds, and sturdy Beggars are liable to be punished by vertue of the Statute made in the 39th year of the Reign of the late Queen Elizabeth in that behalf.

And be it further Enacted, that all such Persons as shall keep Houses of Bawdry, or wittingly and knowingly admit lewd Persons, Men and Women, into their Houses to Commit Uncleaness, or shall receive, or continue to entertain in their Houses as Lodgers or otherwise any common Strumpet, knowing that she continueth such her lewd Course of Life, or shall wittingly and knowingly procure Meetings between Men and Women in order to their committing Adultery or Fornication together, shall forfeit for the first Offence the summe of 5 l. and for the second the summe of 10 l. together with Costs of Suit to be recovered by Action of Debt, Bill, plaint or Information, at the suit of such Person as will prosecute for the same, to and for his or their own use, in which no Essoyn, Protection or Wager of Law shall be allowed: And in default of such prosecution within six Months after each several Offence, shall forfeit the like summe and summs, being thereof Convicted by Presentment or Indictment before the Justices of the Peace at the Quarter Sessions to be held for such County, Division, or Place where any such Offence shall happen to be committed as aforesaid: One moiety to the King, and the other to the Poor of the Parish where the Offence shall be committed. And moreover for such second Offence shall be set in the Pillory in the next Market-Town or open Place: And for the third Offence upon Conviction shall abjure the Realm.

And be it further enacted for the end and purpose aforesaid, that no Person whatsoever keeping or that keep any publick Tavern, Ale-house, Tipling-house, or other House of common Entertainment within the Cities of London or Westminster, or Burrough of Southwark, or places adjacent, shall keep any
Organ

Organ or other Instrument or Instruments of Musick for the Entertainment of Guests, on pain of forfeiting the Summe of 20 l. being thereof lawfully convicted upon Presentment or Indictment at the Quarter-sessions of the Peace, and upon the further penalty of being disabled to sell Ale, Wine, or other Liquors by Retail for the space of a twelve Month after such Conviction. And every person so convicted ~~and~~ yet selling any such liquors, contrary to this Act, shall be punished as selling the same without License.

And be it further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, that if any Women or Woman shall at any time after Sun-set and before Sun-rising be entertain'd or received into any Tavern, Ale-house, or other publick House of Entertainment as Guest or Guests (except in Case of Travellers received into their Inns) then the Master, Mistriß or Dame of such Tavern or House upon proof thereof made before one or more Justice or Justices of the Peace shall forfeit 40 s. Unless the said Master, Mistriß or Dame, shall prove by good and sufficient Testimony, that such Woman and Women are of good Behaviour and Reputation: And if afterwards the said Master, Mistress or Dame, shall permit the like Offence, the said Tavern or House shall be taken and deem'd a Bawdy-house, and the said Master, Mistriß and Dame, shall be punished as Keeper thereof.

And be it further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, that if any Offender within this Act shall not be Convicted and Punished by the Justice of Peace, nor prosecuted at the Suit of any Party, as is by this Act directed within the space of Months after the Offence committed, that then the said Offender shall and may be Prosecuted at the Quarter-Sessions of the Peace, or at the Assizes holden for the County where the Offence is committed, by Indictment or Information within one Year after the Offence committed:

And be it also Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, that when and as often as any Person shall be Convicted upon Indictment for any Offence contrary to this Act, the Judge, Justice and Justices before whom the Conviction shall be, shall immediately thereupon signify the same to the Bishop of the Diocels where the Offence shall be committed, to the end that he may thereupon proceed to EXCOMMUNICATION of the Offender, who shall not be absolved but by special Order of the Bishop, upon Certificate by the Parson or Vicar, and Church-Wardens of the Parish where the Offender shall inhabit, that the said Offender shall on some Lords-Day in the Morning immediately after the Creed appointed for the Communion Service, in the body or greatest Ile of the said Parish Church have publicly confessed his or her Offence, and solemnly declared his or her unfeigned Sorrow and Repentance for the same.

And be it also Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, that no Person Excommunicated or bound to be of Good Behaviour, or Convicted of any Crime or Offence by Virtue or in pursuance of this Act, shall be admitted to Vote or sit in Parliament, or be capable to be Elected to serve in Parliament, or to Act as Judge, Justice of the Peace, or Minister of Justice, or to perform any publick Ecclesiastical Office within the Kingdom of England or Dominion of Wales,

or to maintain any Action of the Case for Scandalous Words, or upon the Statute de Scandalis Magnatum, until he shall be duly discharged of his Security for the good Behaviour, and be absolved from his Excommunication as aforesaid; and shall have paid and performed all Forfeitures, Pains, Penalties, Costs and Charges, incurred, forfeited, taxed or imposed by Virtue of this Act, any Privilege of Parliament or other otherwise in any wise notwithstanding.

Provided that no Person excommunicate by Vertue or in pursuance of this Act, shall by reason of any such Excommunication incur or suffer any other temporal Punishment, Disability or Incommodity than is by this Act appointed or Ordained, any Law, Statute, Canon, Usage or Custom to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

And because the Effect of all Laws, and the Honour of the Government in that respect doth depend upon the due Execution thereof, to the end that this Act may be the more effectually put in Execution, be it Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, that the same shall be publicly read in all Cathedral Collegiate and Parish Churches, and in all Chappels, where the Common Prayers usually are or ought to be read, immediately after the Creed appointed for the Communion Service, on some Lords-Day before the 24th. day of June next, and afterwards once every Year upon the second Lords-Day in March; and that for that purpose it shall be provided by the Church-Wardens of every Parish, at the charge of their respective Parishes: And that all Constables, Tything-men, Headboroughs and Church-wardens shall at the time of their Entrance upon their respective Offices be Sworn to put this Act in due Execution, and to give Information of all Offences committed in their respective Parishes, or by any person of the same Parish contrary to this Act, or to the Statutes against Drunkennels, unto some Justice of the Peace of the same County or Place within ten Dayes after the same shall come to their knowledge, according to their best Skill and Understanding: And also that this Act shall be given in Charge to the Grand Jury by the Judges and Justices at their several Assizes and Quarter-Sessions, to enquire and present the several Offences aforesaid, and all Neglects of Justices, Constables, Church-Wardens and other Officers and Persons in the due Execution thereof.

And be it also Enacted, that the Judge, Justice and Justices, before whom any Person shall be Convicted of any Offence by Vertue of this Act, shall Order and cause to be paid unto such Prosecutor and Prosecutors, as shall otherwise receive no benefit by this Act, and to the several Witnesses, such reasonable Costs and Charges, and in such manner, as he or they shall think fit: And that in any Action brought against any Justice, Constable, or other Officer or Person for any thing done by Vertue or in pursuance of this Act, the Defendant may Plead the General Issue, and give the special matter in Evidence, and upon Verdict for him or Non-suit of the Plaintiff shall recover his treble Costs.

The END.

